The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 30, 1891.

The Week.

THE reluctance of French manufacturers to take part in the World's Fair at Chicago, of which we have abundant evidence in the reports of the Chambers of Commerce, is due to the bad feeling created by the McKinley Bill, and to the belief entertained that any expense incurred in exhibiting goods would be lost by reason of the commercial restrictions which that measure was intended to create and has created. Nobody cares to spend his money for mere purposes of show. Unless trade follows as a consequence of the exhibition, the money will be sunk. It is very easy to say to France, "You're another," and to point to the prohibition of American pork and to the high protective duties that France maintains against us and against other countries. It does not advance matters, or help on the Fair, to show that both countries are wedded to a false system. It should serve, however, to open the eyes of people on both sides to the absurdity of inviting each other to show their goods and then creating barriers to prevent each other from buying and selling. Imagine an American McKinleyite meeting his French brother at a World's Fair in Paris or in Chicago, and exhibiting to the latter a choice lot of provisions put up in Mr. Armour's most approved style, while the latter exhibits a fine assortment of woollens, silks, gloves, etc. If they could look in each other's faces without laughing, they must have a gravity exceeding that of two Roman augurs. Ordinary self-respect ought to teach the commercial classes of both countries to keep away from World's Fairs until they learn the A B C's of trade.

The Canadian newspaper *Hardware*, published at Toronto, has an editorial article, under date of July 18, discussing the reasons why American pig lead is sold in Montreal at $3.60 to $3.75 per cwt., while the price of the same article in New York is $4.40 to $4.45. It relates the experience of a Canadian buyer in New York, who asked the price of pig lead of a firm of metal-dealers, and received the answer, $4.40. The Montrealer replied, "I will sell you American lead in Montreal at $3.75 as an outside figure"; and he added, "You could have knocked them down with a feather." The reason why American lead is sold to foreigners cheaper than to Americans is that we have a precious tariff for the protection of home industry which puts a duty of two cents per pound on pig lead. This enables the producers to charge the American consumer more for it than they could otherwise get; so of course they can afford to sell to Canadians for less. It is all very simple. The same thing is done with hundreds of other articles.

The London *Economist* is of the opinion that no large part of the gold exported from the United States to Europe this year will be returned this fall, even though the balance of trade may seem to require it. The reason why it holds this opinion is that it is not needed here. The circulation is filling up with silver certificates at the rate of 4½ millions per month. These will go a great way to relieve the autumnal pressure for money to move the crops, which pressure, although felt first in New York, would otherwise fall upon London and Paris. The apprehension felt here that, under the operation of the 4½-million law, we are drifting to a silver basis, the *Economist* thinks not altogether groundless. Its discussion of our financial situation, while marked with its customary intelligence and discrimination, leaves something to be desired. If Europe takes an unusual quantity of our breadstuffs this fall, and at higher prices than usual, how will she pay for it? It may be said that she will pay in the things that America particularly wants, and that America does not particularly want gold, since she allows silver to take the place of it in her domestic economy. That would be a fair answer, yet the *Economist* refrains from pursuing the subject to a conclusion, and says instead that "it is impossible to say in advance exactly what course affairs may take." It is, indeed, hazardous to make a prediction, yet all the signs point to the working of Gresham's law, that when two kinds of money are in use on equal terms, the poorer will drive the better out of circulation. Gold and silver are not on exactly equal terms as yet, but the 4½-million law, and the crusade of the free-coinage party together, have produced a situation uncomfortably near that which permits the operation of that law.

The employment of convicts under contract with private persons is upon many accounts objectionable, although many of the objections most commonly urged against it are of a kind that imply that convicts ought not to work at all. So far as the nature of the employment is concerned, it is difficult to understand why any free laborer should desire to prevent convicts from doing all the mining that there is to be done; but the employment of convicts and free laborers together is a practice that is entirely indefensible upon any ground whatever, and the furnishing of convict laborers to contractors, to be used by them in the place of striking miners, is, to say the least, injudicious. As we understand the matter, both these mistakes have been committed in Tennessee, and the outbreak at Briceville seems to be directly due to them. Still it will do no harm to remember that within ten years, no farther away than the neighboring city of Brooklyn, contractors were employing male convicts and female free laborers in the same shops and on the same benches.

The peaceful ending of the trouble between the Tennessee miners and the State Government is upon the whole creditable to both parties. The Government will enforce the objectionable law, but it is understood that an extra session of the Legislature is to be called at which the repeal of the law will take place, the miners thus obtaining eventually all that they have claimed. It is impossible not to regret that so large a body of citizens should feel it incumbent upon themselves to unite in nullifying the action of the constituted authorities, but it must be admitted that they have behaved with the greatest sobriety and self-restraint, and they belong to a class that has always been in the habit of taking the law into its own hands. Even if they have practically won the victory, they have done so by an apparent surrender to the Government, so that it cannot be said that the majesty of the law has been altogether contemned. At all events, if we compare the events that have just taken place in East Tennessee with those that occurred at Pittsburgh in 1877, the contrast is a decidedly agreeable one. There is every indication that episodes of this description are to be more frequent in the future than they have been in the past. Whether there is more disposition to violate law than formerly perhaps cannot be told, but there is certainly far more sympathy extended to law-breakers when they profess to represent an oppressed class, and there is a timidity on the part of governments that is almost a new phenomenon in history.

A statement was made on Friday before the Philadelphia Councils' Committee by R. J. Cook, business manager of the Philadelphia *Press*, in regard to the 40 per cent. rebate paid by the *Press* to Bardsley's agent for city advertising. The statement is an extraordinary one. The manager of the *Press* solicited this advertising from the Auditor-General. There was an indefinite reply. A man soon after called at the *Press* office with an offer to give the paper the advertising if it would make a rebate of 40 per cent. This the paper did, and it did it in this way: The *Press* made out a bill for the whole amount against the city, which Bardsley receipted for. Then it paid back the 40 per cent. to the "striker," leaving the impression from the city's voucher that the *Press* had received the whole amount. Pressed for the name of this "striker," Cook at first refused to give it, and then named an employee of the Auditor-General's office now dead. He declared that he did not know that this man was an office-holder, although it was brought out that he had served a long time.

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The *Press* paid rebates to this office-holder's successor, but Cook absolutely refused to give this man's name to the Committee, on the ground that "it might do harm to the living." Finally, when asked if he thought the publication of this particular advertisement (which the *Press* had asked for) did any public good, Cook replied: "I think it has been a fraud from the beginning." The *Press* is one of the papers that find most to admire in Wanamaker.

There seems to be a growth of public sentiment against prohibition in Maine. Certainly there is a more pronounced and sincere tone in the protests against the policy uttered by men of character and standing now than ever before. Especially notable is a deliverance on the subject from the Maine Pharmaceutical Society at its annual meeting in Portland last week, through the address of Mr. C. K. Partridge, its President. He began by pointing out that, under the prohibitory law, if the apothecary fills the prescription of a physician for alcoholic stimulants, "his legal place of residence is the county jail, and, in addition thereto, his pocketbook should be legally mulcted in a handsome sum." As to the general policy of prohibition and its effects, Mr. Partridge said:

"Such prohibition, after nearly half a century's trial in Maine, has proved a moral, political, demi-religious fraud. Originally enacted from the best of motives, as a 'sovereign remedy' for intemperance, its empiricism has been fully demonstrated. It has grown, like a fungus, on the body politic, stimulated by a combination of dark-lantern societies with demagogy, fanaticism, political intimidation, and intolerance of individual rights. It has shown total inadequacy for its avowed purpose of promoting real temperance and good morals. It is at the root of many evils—in its train are hypocrisy, perjury, fanaticism, growing disrespect for all laws, secret dram-drinking, and a host of minor ills. It is a miscarried effort to 'legislate the Kingdom of God into the heart of man by indirection,' inasmuch as it places an act not a crime of itself in the same category with the worst crimes."

Among other things Mr. Partridge said: "A literal and impartial enforcement of the present statutes of prohibition, could such be made throughout the State, would demonstrate the internal weakness of these laws, and result in purging the prohibitory amendment from the Constitution; but such a course has hitherto been impracticable, for officers appointed to enforce the lower law of prohibition have generally been found to have some regard for the higher law of humanity." By a curious coincidence, Gov. Burleigh sent a communication to the Sheriff of Aroostook County, on the same day that this address was delivered in Portland, which fully sustains the position here taken. The Governor calls the Sheriff's attention to complaints that have been made that the prohibitory laws are not being properly enforced, says that it is the plain and imperative duty of every officer charged with the enforcement of these laws to see that they are administered according to their spirit and intent, and intimates that, if more efficiency is not shown, special constables will be appointed. This is precisely the experience through which Massachusetts went before it abolished prohibition. As the local sentiment of the various counties would not sustain the law, an attempt was made to enforce it through a State constabulary, but this proved even a worse failure than the other, and it was finally concluded that there was no use in trying by any device to maintain a law which the people did not sustain. Mr. Partridge evidently believes that this will be the result in Maine.

The announcement is made that the inhabitants of Kansas City are about to be supplied with cool air in summer and warm air in winter through a system of pipes laid in the streets. At the same time we are informed that the people of Framingham, Mass., are to be furnished with gas for heating purposes at the price of 50 cents a thousand feet. Thus the ends of the land are advancing in the art of living while the metropolis remains stationary and is kept from falling behind only by incessant grumbling. And yet the possibilities of comfort, of health, and even of cheapness revealed in these schemes are wonderfully alluring, and their realization would be prevented by no physical obstacles. If we consider that wonderful work of human hands, the kitchen range, under the management of the regular cook, who knows how to put on all the draught at once and keep it on, what a devourer of fuel it is! We need a cup of tea or a chop in summer, and a fire is kindled that would generate steam enough to drive an ocean racer a mile upon her course, the kitchen is turned into a Tophet, the miserable servants swelter in the apartments which their own stupidity and that of mankind have rendered uninhabitable, and their employers are rendered uncomfortable above. The extravagance of the Chinese, who, as related by Charles Lamb, at first thought it necessary to burn down a house whenever they wanted to roast a pig, is nothing to ours. In place of all these trials, heating gas is now supplied to those who have the wit to use it and the enterprise to supply themselves with gas ranges, which can be lighted and extinguished in a moment.

The late Hannibal Hamlin used often to comment upon the change which he had witnessed in the popular estimation of old age. When he was young, he said, it was the custom to regard a man as old and ready for retirement when he had passed fifty, whereas he lived to see the time when nobody was surprised at a man's keeping hard at work after reaching seventy. An illustration of this fact has just been furnished in Chicago. In 1870, Mr. Henry W. Blodgett was appointed Judge of the United States District Court for the Northern District of Illinois. Last week he reached the age of seventy. The law provides that a Federal judge who reaches that age after having served ten years on the bench may retire upon a pension equal to his salary, and Mr. Blodgett has been asked whether he intended to avail himself of the privilege. He replies that he does not; his health is good, he feels perfectly competent to keep at work, and he has grown so used to work that he should not know how to get along without it. Judge Blodgett is by no means singular in this preference. Two of the nine judges of the United States Supreme Court (Bradley and Field) are far past seventy, and might have retired on pensions long ago; Judge Miller was well advanced in his seventy-fifth year at his death; and Judge Blatchford was seventy last year.

There was an exciting and characteristic scene in the French Chamber when the duty on cotton yarn was voted. It was very much like some scenes in our own Congress when tariff men have a misunderstanding in public about the division of the spoils. The French cotton-spinners wanted a heavy duty on yarn, and their representatives declared roundly that if it was not granted, they would kick the whole bill to perdition. The weavers protested against the duty, saying that they could hardly keep their heads above water now, and that if they had to pay a higher price for yarn, they should be ruined. There was no McKinley present to tell them that the proposed duty on yarn would make the price lower. M. Méline, the champion of the bill, reproached the weavers for opposing the duty on yarn after they had secured duties on cloth which were really higher than there was any need of! The Chamber voted for the increased duty by 277 to 242, and immediately afterwards, by way of compromise, voted to admit yarns free when used in the manufacture of goods for export. Then M. Méline indignantly moved that the entire article relating to cotton yarns be rejected, and this motion was carried by 358 to 151. Then M. Delafosse, the representative of the cotton-spinners, declared that he would vote against every other section of the bill that carried an increase of duty and would vote against the whole bill on its final passage. The scene was happily contrived to illustrate the system which Bastiat called "progress by robbery." It is a pity that somebody had not risen and read that particular chapter of the French economist which shows how a certain people appointed a committee to assign sections of road to particular persons and classes, giving them the exclusive right to take purses on their own divisions, subject to the risk of being themselves robbed whenever they travelled beyond their proper precincts.

The fear expressed by French writers and artists, in their remonstrance against the policy of commercial isolation upon which their country is entering, that retaliatory legislation might take the form of withdrawing the guarantees of literary and artistic property now accorded them in other lands, appears at first sight to be justified by

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the announcement that both Belgium and Switzerland have given notice of their desire to terminate their treaties with France covering the rights of authors and artists. But this step is far from being conclusive, even in the case of those two countries. Each of them has a domestic law practically assuring foreign writers the same rights as native, and this legislation would have to be repealed in order to make the termination of the treaties really effective. Even in that case, there would still remain the Berne Convention, to which Belgium and Switzerland adhere, and which gives the citizen of any signatory Power the same rights in any other as those of its own subjects. This international agreement would also have to be thrown over, therefore, and it is altogether unlikely that either Belgium or Switzerland would think of doing it and joining the ranks of the barbarians again. Thus it would seem that, whatever forms of reprisal French protective legislation may provoke, the property rights of the literary and artistic producers of France are to remain well secured abroad. In fact, they are all the while being extended. The recent Franco-Brazilian treaty is a highly important one for French interests, and is to be followed by others with Spanish-American republics; there are already treaties with Bolivia, Ecuador, and Mexico. Then, too, France has just entered into the benefits of our own new law, such as they are, and is on the point, so it is reported, of concluding a treaty for the protection of literary property with Russia.

The Portuguese Minister of Finance hopes to find a way out of the severe difficulties that confront him by negotiating reciprocity treaties with South American countries, and so making Lisbon a depot of distribution for Europe. This is the latest attempt to conduct international trade on the basis of sentiment rather than profit. Both Spain and Portugal are unable to get it into their heads that their ancient connection with South America does not give them a vast advantage in their efforts to secure a greater share in South American commerce. A great association for the promotion of better trade relations between Spain and her ancient dependencies has recently been formed in the commercial cities of the Peninsula, and there have been banquets, and fervent messages to "our sisters in the New World," and a general sentimental overflow. The Spanish newspapers predict important results from the movement, and draw affecting pictures of the South American exporters turning their backs on alien German and English traders, and falling upon the necks of the shipmasters of Barcelona and Cadiz. The funniest part of it is, that the South Americans warmly reciprocate these advances, as far as talk goes, though they keep on buying and selling as before. When all is said, however, we ourselves have been as ridiculous as any of them in much of the talk that has been current among our public men. It has been set down as an axiom that trade has a sentimental desire to "follow the flag," and that if we can only make the South Americans think we are jolly good fellows, they will buy our goods without being too particular as to price. The Spanish and Portuguese contention that trade will follow common language and inheritance is just as strong on *a-priori* grounds, and also just as badly supported by facts.

The newly elected Brazilian Congress began its sessions on June 15, and is giving the believers in the inevitable congestion and inefficiency of representative assemblies plenty of comfort. At least, the first ten days were marked by an overwhelming flood of private bills and, in the Senate particularly, by a breaking up into fiercely personal and factional cliques. All this, it should be remembered, is in the face, and to the neglect, so far, of the vast amount of the most urgent public business demanding the attention of the Congress. The new Constitution remains practically suspended in the air, for lack of the proper laws putting it in force in its various spheres. The municipal government of Rio Janeiro is actually devoid of legal existence and is clamoring for recognition and reorganization. The criminal law is in pressing need of codification. In short, there is an abundance of subjects of the gravest public concern which ought to receive immediate consideration, and it is certainly discouraging to note the way they are made to defer to private interests.

A kindred weakness of parliamentary government was conspicuously displayed by the Spanish Cortes during the last few weeks prior to adjournment. In that case an irresistible outbreak of oratory brought the public business to an absolute standstill, and left the Administration with its most important bills completely stranded. First came a full week of orations about a crime over which Madrid was agog, but with which the Cortes had not a thing to do directly. Then came up the Cuban budget, and for ten days the declamation beat upon the "blue benches." The Government begged for a respite, offering night sessions for the relief of the bursting orators, but all would not do; the tireless Cubans talked the session to death, and the new fiscal year came in with the budget, both for Spain and the colonies, not voted. The only tangible thing in the whole debate was the declaration of the Premier that Spain would spend her last cent and send her last fighting man to death before giving up Cuba, while, at the same time, he made the significant admission that the treaty with the United States could be secured only by some sacrifice on the part of Spanish interests.

President Pellegrini of the Argentine Republic writes a very long and diffuse letter in reply to a communication received by him from the Chamber of Commerce. He declares that the expenses of the Government have been greatly lessened in numerous ways. The interest on the public debt is no longer paid, except that upon one loan which was secured upon the customs receipts; the construction of new railways has been stopped; nothing is being done toward the completion of the public works, with the exception of some expenditures necessary to preserve them from destruction, and 1,500 public officers have been discharged within the last few months. He refuses to concede any reduction of import duties or of railway tariffs, and suggests the formation of a new bank "with fresh capital to regulate the circulation, to reëstablish credit, and to put in motion commerce and industry." But, he observes, capital is not forthcoming for this enterprise. It is not reassuring to have the President suggest more banks as a means of relief from the trouble. But if it be true that as against importations of $55,000,000 there will be exports amounting to $130,000,000 or $140,000,000 during the current year, the situation is certainly hopeful. We fear, however, that this view is too sanguine.

The accounts from China of the riots now prevailing in the Empire seem to reflect the ignorance and uncertainty in which even the best-informed foreign residents are left. A correspondent writes us, under date of June 25, that it is precisely "the old China hand" who is most hesitant in advancing a theory as to the cause of the disturbances. As far as obtaining information from native sources is concerned, the difficulty is to break through the mask of official falsehood and to discriminate between ignorant or obsequious and intelligent and honest informants. The various hypothetical explanations of the riots are given as follows by our correspondent: "Hatred of foreigners in general; hatred of missionaries; hatred of the Peking Government; hatred of the Viceroy of Nanking; the machinations of the *Kolao Hin*, a secret society originally a military benevolent organization, but now political and revolutionary." He adds: "It is probable that all the foregoing causes have been operative, but it is the belief of the best informed that the immediate cause of the riots is to be found in hostility to the new Viceroy of Nanking, on account of his retrenchments in the matter of pensions to the soldiers of the imperial forces disbanded at the close of the Taiping rebellion; that these disaffected soldiers are for the most part members of the *Kolao Hin*, and that their leaders have taken advantage of the popular hatred of missionaries, and, to a much less extent, of foreigners in general, to provoke riots with the ultimate purpose of embarrassing the Viceroy, and possibly embroiling the Chinese Government with other nations. At all events, the Viceroy proceeded on the hypothesis that the *Kolao Hin* was the moving cause of the riots, and issued a strong proclamation against it."

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FORAKER AS A TYPE.

THE most noteworthy feature of the Ohio canvass is the reappearance of Foraker as the chief man in the Republican party. When he was beaten for reëlection to the Governorship two years ago by more than 10,000 votes, on the same day that all his associate candidates on the Republican ticket were successful by pluralities running up as high as 4,400 votes, it was taken for granted that his political career was over. During the campaign which culminated in this defeat, he had brought out what proved to be a forged paper purporting to be a contract by which Mr. James E. Campbell, a member of Congress and the Democratic candidate for the Governorship, Senator Sherman and Congressmen McKinley and Butterworth had agreed to use their influence to secure the adoption by Congress of a patent ballot-box, in return for which they were to receive a share of the expected profits. In other words, the Republican Senator from Ohio and the two most prominent Republican Representatives were represented as conspiring with a Democratic Representative to push through a shameless job for pay, and Foraker made the charge public without having asked any one of his three party associates whether there might not be some mistake about it. The document was proved to be a forgery as soon as it was made public, and the indignation at Foraker's conduct in the affair was so widespread that he alone of all the Republican candidates on the State ticket was defeated, and, it was generally supposed, politically buried.

Within two years, however, he is back again, virtually in control of the party organization. At the Republican State Convention he was the hero of the day; he refused to allow Sherman either the chairmanship of the body or the compliment of a personal endorsement in the platform; he has since required McKinley to put Foraker men in charge of the gubernatorial canvass; and he has now practically announced that he means to take the Senatorship if he can get it. What is more important, he evidently controls the Machine so completely that he seems likely to succeed in his purpose if the Republicans carry the Legislature and so have a Senatorship to dispose of.

The reappearance of Foraker as the Republican leader in Ohio is, at first thought, calculated to surprise the observer. One is inclined to wonder what there is in the political atmosphere of Ohio which revives such a man after he had seemed to be dead. It appears natural to suppose that there must be some peculiarity of environment to account for so extraordinary a phenomenon. The outsider finds himself speculating as to what local influences may be at work in the commonwealth to breed such politicians. But the truth is, that all such speculation is aside from the mark. Foraker is again a Republican leader, not because he chances to live in Ohio, but because he is the sort of man the Republican party of the nation now honors everywhere. A skilful political manager, he understands how to "run the machine," and is popular with the "hustlers" who attend to the caucuses and see that the conventions are made up of the right sort of men. He is a master of that clap-trap oratory of the stump which exhausts itself in abuse of the "rebels" and condemnation of "free trade" as a Confederate notion. He is "down on" the Mugwumps, and despises civil-service reform as a fad of the "doctrinaires." In short, he is the sort of leader whom the "boys" know that they can depend upon to look out for them, and the party workers are therefore enthusiastic for him.

The leader of the Republican party of Ohio in its early history was Salmon P. Chase. It is not necessary to trace in detail the contrast between Chase as he was in his best days and Foraker. There were men of the Foraker sort at that time, as there have always been, but they were not prominent in the Republican organization. There were two reasons for this. In the first place, the party represented great principles then, and great principles develop great men—such men as Chase in Ohio, Seward in New York, and Lincoln in Illinois. In the second place, the earnest men who were most influential in the organization were always strong enough to keep under foot the self-seekers who were "in politics for what they could make out of it." A clever stump-speaker and wire-puller could not in those days thrust to one side the men who had proved their readiness to sacrifice their own prospects by taking a stand for what they believed to be the right.

All this is now changed. The Republican party no longer stands for great principles. Its great leaders are nearly all gone, and John Sherman, the sole survivor in active life, seems like the veteran who lags superfluous on the stage. A new class of men has come to the front in their stead—men like Thomas C. Platt in New York, Matthew S. Quay in Pennsylvania, Joseph B. Foraker in Ohio, and J. S. Clarkson in Iowa. They would smile at men like Seward and Chase and Lincoln, who were ready to champion a cause which might be beaten at the next election, or like Grimes, who would not hesitate himself to vote against his party, as in the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, if he thought it was trying to do a wrong. At the same time the class of men who would have restrained the Platts and Quays and Forakers and Clarksons a quarter of a century ago no longer have any influence with the Republican party, having been driven either into active opposition or at least into an independent attitude by the long and unquestioned dominance of these leaders.

It is, therefore, as a type that Foraker is to-day most impressive. It is not because he chances to live in Ohio that he is the most popular leader of the Republican party in his State. There is no reason why he should not be just as influential if he had grown up in the State of John A. Andrew, for he is the sort of man whom the Republican party of to-day everywhere most honors.

COMMISSIONER RAUM ON PENSIONS AND PATRIOTISM.

IT is now thirty years since the outbreak of the great civil war, and no one who remembers those early days has ever doubted the genuineness of the patriotism that then blazed forth throughout the length and breadth of the land. It was confined to no class. It was felt in the college and on the farm, in the counting-house and in the workshop, in the luxurious homes of the rich and in the cottages of the poor. It was no mere wild outburst of wrath and hatred, although that element was not absent from it, but a strong, clear flame of love to country, of devotion to the Union that had been bought at so heavy a price by our forefathers and that had brought so many blessings to their posterity, and of determination that that Union should not be recklessly and ruthlessly destroyed. Of all the countless wars in which our race has been engaged, there have not been many in which the proportion of men who sprang to arms because they felt it to be the call of duty has been larger, in which the proportion of men who enlisted from baser motives was at first smaller.

It was not in human nature that this elevation of sentiment should be enduring. Among some of our soldiers we know that it did endure through four years of trial and disappointment, of hopes deferred and of sufferings both their own and of those who were dear to them. But we know also that there came a time when volunteers came forward only in response to special pecuniary inducement, when volunteering itself ceased and the draft became necessary, and that at last there came the evil days of substitutes and enormous bounties and bounty-jumpers and desertions and reënlistments. In those days the flame of patriotism burnt lower than at first. The core of the army was true, but it was flecked and scarred with corruption. There were many men in it who had acquired military discipline and who had at the same time learned to love military license. There were many who were brave—and physical courage is the cheapest and commonest of all the virtues—but who cared little what cause they fought for. There were many who were cowards—we would not put the number so high as Gen. Sheridan put it, but there were many who cared only for their bounties and their pay and their rations, who skulked on the battle-field, and deserted when they thought they could do so without detection. In short, our army, like other great armies, was made up of all sorts and conditions of men. There were many patriots of the purest type, and there were many of the vilest scoundrels that the substitute brokers could scrape out of the lowest slums of our great cities.

According to the definition of patriotism now announced by Commissioner Raum in the current number of the *North American Review*, and apparently acquiesced in by a large majority of the Grand Army of the Republic, there is no distinction between these classes. In their view, to be a soldier was to be a patriot. The uniform of itself imparted virtue, and whoever shouldered a musket, though he did it intending to shoot

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his own officers and desert at the first opportunity, earned the eternal gratitude of the people of this country and became entitled to have this gratitude expressed in a pecuniary form. "The paltry dollars which a soldier receives as monthly pay for his military service in time of war cannot be considered a suitable equivalent for his patriotic services." That equivalent is only to be found in additional, many additional, dollars. The prospect of these additional dollars is necessary in order "to stimulate the spirit of patriotism in the people." To the patriot of the future all the brave talk about repelling the invader and preserving the Union, of defending home and liberty, will be meaningless. To all this he will reply: That is all very fine, but how much money is there in it for me? And if a satisfactory "equivalent" is not offered him, we suppose that patriotism is not to be expected to appear. And this "pig-philosophy" is presented to the people of this country as an explanation of the patriotic uprising that we have described above. Commissioner Raum is of the opinion that hereafter the descendants of those who served in the civil war "will venerate their ancestors' names all the more because they were pensioned for their honorable services." It is not probable that he is capable of rising to any higher appreciation of the causes that arouse the emotion of veneration, but it is safe to say that that emotion has never yet been known to be aroused by such causes as he suggests, nor will it be while human nature remains the same.

It is hardly necessary to say that the arguments with which Commissioner Raum supports his case do not deserve serious consideration, but some of them are so suggestive that we shall restate them with some of his facts. The hardships undergone by our soldiers between twenty-six and thirty years ago were sustained under the influence of a patriotic elation that in many cases prevented immediately injurious results, but a reaction has now come, and "with it that multitude of incurable ailments which have baffled the skill of the most learned physicians in the land." Probably 600,000 of the survivors of the war "were so impaired in health that they have lost at least twelve years of the usual expectation of life." They have lost the ability to support themselves by their labor, and it is the duty of the country which owes its existence to their services, to pay them from $6 to $12 a month as long as they live. All widows of deceased soldiers, whether able to support themselves or not, unless they have an independent income, are to receive $8 a month, and all soldiers' children under sixteen years of age are to receive $2 a month. There are now living some 1,208,000 soldiers of the Union. Of these, 478,000 are now on the pension rolls, as well as 120,000 widows and other dependents. There are now pending claims to the number of 1,095,099.

In this immediate connection it is instructive to be told that "the men who fought to save the Union were not mercenaries." "They do not propose by any action on their part to withdraw from the sympathetic touch" of their fellow-citizens—which we interpret to mean that their receptive capacity is not limited to what they get in the shape of pensions. "They know that their services during the war merited the respect of their fellow-citizens, and by no act of theirs will they forfeit that respect while life lasts." The tainted official who utters these words is little qualified to speak of what merits respect, well as he may understand how it is forfeited. Had he said that those whose sentiments he expresses would by no act of theirs forfeit the pecuniary "equivalent" which they had secured for their services from their fellow-citizens, no one would have questioned his statements.

GOVERNMENT INSURANCE IN FRANCE.

THE scheme of State insurance just brought forward by the French Government is thoroughly exposed by M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu in the columns of *L'Économiste Français*. That journal, he observes, has for the last eight or ten years denounced the Panama Canal enterprise as the most *charlatanesque* affair of this century. The Government insurance project, however, surpasses that of the Panama Canal in charlatanry, and has not been equalled since the days of Law. The plan contemplates the payment by the Government of a pension of from 300 to 600 francs to every workman, employee, *métayer*, and domestic of either sex who shall, from the age of twenty-five years to that of fifty-five, pay a premium of from five to ten centimes for every working-day; the employer being obliged to add to this an equal contribution, and the sum to be further increased by a contribution on the part of the Government of two-thirds of the amount. No one, however, is to receive this pension who cannot swear that he is not in receipt of an income of more than 600 francs, and no one is admitted to the privileges of the scheme at all unless his income is less than 3,000 francs. Every person employing a foreigner must pay into this fund ten centimes a day, although foreigners are excluded from its benefits. In order to start the enterprise, persons from twenty-five to forty years of age are permitted to come in. The Government also guarantees to members of the same classes, in consideration of a slight supplementary premium, the payment of a gross sum of 500 to 1,000 francs at death, provided death does not occur for two years from the time of beginning payments. The cost to the Government of this system, when in full operation, would not be more than 100,000,000 francs per annum—according to the estimate of the Government; but according to M. Leroy-Beaulieu, it would be nearer a milliard.

These payments are not, strictly speaking, obligatory upon the classes to be benefited, but the law presumes that all members of these classes will accept it. Unless the workman or servant makes a declaration before the *maire* of his commune that he declines the insurance, it becomes obligatory upon the person employing him to carry out this scheme by keeping back from his wages the sum of five centimes, or ten if the workman prefers, for every working day, to add the same amount from his own pocket, and to pay over the sum to the *caisse nationale des Retraites ouvrières*. It does not seem easy to apply the scheme to *métayers*, who do not receive wages, but it would be far more difficult to make it work in the case of workmen who move about from one town to another, or even change their employers. The increase in the cares of housekeeping, if this system were to be enforced in the case of servants, would be something formidable.

As M. Leroy-Beaulieu points out, the scheme proceeds upon the common assumption that the employer is rich; that he is always able to pay more wages than he does. But in a country like France, a country of small proprietors and of industry and commerce upon a small scale, this assumption is peculiarly ill founded. It is not uncommon to hear it said in some parts of the United States that the farmer is worse off than his hired man. The hired man gets his living and his wages too, but the farmer works just as hard and only gets his living. But in France this situation is the rule rather than the exception. The small proprietor cannot afford to hire help for many days in the year; and to be obliged to pay a fine of ten or twenty centimes whenever he did so would be extremely oppressive. Even more than this is true of the great majority of employers of domestic servants. It is impossible to believe that this application of direct taxation to the household of every small proprietor in France will not arouse a general revolt against the Government.

Of course if the employer cannot afford to pay this charge, which brings no advantage to him, he must reduce the wages of his servant, and the expense to the Government of the whole enterprise must be made up by taxation. Thus the unfortunate workman or servant would suffer a direct reduction of his wages in his own contribution, a second reduction in the contribution which his master would be obliged to transfer to his shoulders, and a third reduction in the increased taxes which the enormous expense of operating such a system would entail upon the country. At first, of course, the Government would receive much greater sums than it paid out. After a time, however, the death-claims would rapidly increase, and after thirty years the pension charge would begin. To meet these increased expenses the Government should have accumulated a large reserve; but it is not safe to trust any Government with the custody of large reserves, and it is peculiarly unsafe to trust the French Government, in view of its customary annual deficits, with the custody of such a reserve as this. When it was wanted, it would be found not to exist, and its loss would have to be made up, if at all, by increased taxation. It should amount to 12 milliards of francs, a sum which M. Leroy-Beaulieu declares it would be impossible to invest safely.

In order to sustain its statement that the expense of the system would not exceed 100,000,000 francs a year, the Government assumes that the premiums could be capitalized at 4 per cent. There is no basis for this assumption, a rate of 3 per cent. or even less being all that the current rates

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upon Government debts would justify. This miscalculation would add 100,000,000 or 150,000,000 francs to the deficit. Again, it is assumed that the workman's yearly total of working days is 290, but this number is too great if we allow for sickness, military service, hindrances from weather, from loss of place, etc.; and the deficit would be largely increased in this way. No allowance is made for the expense of operating a business necessarily complicated in the extreme, and here again many millions of francs would be absorbed. It would be impossible for the Government to carry out the plan of confiscating lapsed premiums. To force insurance upon the poor, and then, if they fail through any accident to keep up their payments, to deprive them of all that they have paid unless they make up the deficiency, would be intolerable. Voluntary insurance associations have had to modify rules of this character, and the Government would find their enforcement too odious. Another cause of deficit is found by M. Leroy-Beaulieu in the assumption by the Government that, of 5,760,000 workmen beginning payments at the age of twenty-five years, there will be only 3,000,000 entitled to pensions at the end of thirty years.

When we consider the universal disgust and exasperation over the operation of the new insurance law in Germany, it seems extraordinary that the French Government should have brought forward such a proposal as this. It is safe to say that it will be rejected by the people if they ever have a chance to express their opinion of it.

THE JEWS AND ITALY.

ITALY, July 15, 1891.

WITH the publication of the two volumes of philosophy, the series of Carlo Cattaneo's Literary, Economical, and Philosophical Works will be completed within the year, and there is at last a fair prospect that the publication of his political writings and of his wonderful letters may commence next February, on the twenty-second anniversary of his death. Every year that passes proves the wisdom of the Lombard seer when he warned the Italians that their violent, sudden, disorderly centralization would lead them to the loss of all that each separate province had inherited from the past and preclude their local progress in the future. Looking over his manuscripts to-day for the selection of those best suited for the first political volume, and making the inventory of the contents of those already published, I chanced upon the remarkable series of articles written when he was thirty-five years of age concerning the "interdictions imposed by civil legislation on the Israelites," every word of which fits like a glove the terrible situation in which they find themselves in "Holy Russia" at the present moment. Curiously enough, these articles were suggested to the student of all the aspects of social life by two circumstances, one of which to-day reads like a fable.

In 1835, the year before the "Ricerche economiche sulle interdizioni imposte dalla legge civile agli Israeliti" were published in the *Annali di Giurisprudenza*, edited by Zini in Lombardy, a ukase provided that, in the various provinces of Russia, with a few exceptions, all Jews who chose to devote themselves to agricultural pursuits should be exempted from taxation for twenty-five years; if they formed colonies, for fifty. They were to be exempted from the poll-tax, from any tax on land, and also from military service. The other circumstance which called Cattaneo's attention to the position of the Jews in Europe resembles the one which to-day arises in the case of Jews who are British subjects and who find themselves in Russia. Last July, a notice which appeared in the London *Gazette* relative to the rights of British subjects travelling in Russia, attracted the attention of the Anglo-Jewish Association. As it was apprehended that a difference would be made between Christian and Jewish subjects of Great Britain to the detriment of the latter, a memorial was sent to Lord Salisbury claiming for British Jews visiting Russia full and unrestricted rights under the treaty of navigation and commerce of 1859, in the same manner as can be enjoyed by Christian British subjects. The result of this memorial, and of subsequent communications with the Foreign Office, was that Lord Salisbury consulted the law officers of the Crown, who advised that as long as the disabilities to which British and Russian Jews are subjected are substantially the same, the Russian Government having maintained that foreign Jews in Russia could not claim rights withheld from native Jews, it was not open to her Majesty's Government to depart from the interpretation of existing treaties laid down by Lord Granville in a despatch of December 28, 1881.

In 1836 a case in point of the rights of French subjects, Jews or Catholics, in Switzerland attracted the attention of Cattaneo to the question. Until 1791, the disabilities of Jews in France were iniquitous. A Jew might not inhabit a house where there was a single Christian occupant, or trade in any place except where he had his fixed domicile—in Paris he was forbidden to trade at all. He had to pay toll like beasts of burden, and, even when converted to Christianity, the feudal lord could sequestrate his belongings. In 1791 all these iniquitous laws were abolished: Jews could purchase and possess, could trade and live, where they pleased. The institution of civil marriage opened out to them the possibility of forming family ties with their fellow-subjects, and the same liberties were enjoyed by them in Italy wherever the Giuseppino code prevailed. In 1807, at the great *sinedro* convoked by all the synagogues of Europe in Paris, which was, after the dispersion of the Jews, the first solemn act celebrated in the name of the whole Jewish nation, it was enjoined on all the Jews in Italy and in France "to purchase landed property, and thus to attach themselves to the country of their birth or residence; to renounce those practices which had rendered them odious in the eyes of their fellow-countrymen, and to do all in their power to captivate esteem and benevolence." And as if to compensate them for past injuries, they were admitted to military service, and in those days of military madness this was esteemed an honor. They were forbidden to pay for substitutes. Thus all the Jews of Italy and France who were neither blind nor halt nor deformed, were suddenly educated to the use of arms.

In 1825–6 two treaties had been concluded between France and Switzerland by which reciprocity of treatment was conceded for the Swiss in France and for the French in Switzerland. In the latter country, the Jews were under disabilities; in the former these had been removed. The brothers Wahl, Jews of Mulhouse, once a free city allied to Switzerland, at that time united to France, had purchased an estate in Baselland, where the municipal statutes excluded Jews from holding landed property; but they purchased as French subjects, not as Jews: "Frenchmen in France, Frenchmen in Switzerland." The Swiss authorities declared it absurd that foreign Jews should have rights denied to native Jews. "That," says Cattaneo, "should have been decided when the treaties were made. France demands equality in Switzerland for all her citizens; she makes no distinction between Jews and Christians. The treaty with France is posterior to the statute of the municipality." He then enters into the practical issues of the question. An Israelite brings capital into Basle in order to fertilize the lands of the commune. Why refuse this?

"Has the money brought by the Jews a bad odor? A vine planted by a Jew—brings it forth bitter or poisonous grapes? The inhabitants of Basle do not prevent Israelites from making money in their commune to enrich themselves by commerce with themselves, yet they seek to hinder them from consecrating their savings in works useful to the community. Thus they would force them to make money in Basle and go out of the commune to spend it in foreign countries. They allow them to arrive poor and to depart when they have become rich. It is to the interest of the inhabitants to allow the Israelites who, by their industry, have amassed millions, to spend them in fertilizing and enriching their soil. They allow Jews to lay out money on mortgages, and refuse them leave to spend it in purchase; this is to their own hurt. We abstain from all appeal to tolerance or to humanity. The brothers Wahl are capitalists who seek a country in which to invest their money. All France, England, Spain, Lombardy, and other States are open to them; they select Basle, and the peasant population of that *campagna* are so ignorant of the elementary laws of wise economy that they diminish the competitors for their lands, thus diminishing the price of them; they repel foreign capital, thus raising the rate of interest."

Cattaneo next, passing from the special case in point to the general question, traces the cruel legislation to its origin; shows how it forced the Jews to hide their wealth and lend only at a high interest, often under promise of secrecy, and how, excluded from the possession of land, after which they always hankered, they invested their money in the most portable, the least visible, shapes—in gems and other objects easily hidden—and, when these were wrested from them, gave themselves up to the most sordid and nauseous commerce, collected rags and refuse, the offal of the streets and plague houses, thus avoiding taxation also. The Israelites in late centuries paid an annual tax for the right of protection from sovereigns, for the right of residence in certain localities. This tax amounted to little more than $10 or $12 per family, but as the individuals were not counted and only a limited number of families were allowed in a certain district, the families united, the children all remained under one roof, never lighting "two fires," so that in time each family became an entire tribe. Excluded from all chance of education in Catholic countries, from the study of natural science and of mathematics, in the Mohammedan schools of Spain alone they could acquire some knowledge. The study of medicine was forbidden to them. Even their dress was prescribed: they were ordered to "perform their religious ceremonies in the most modest and unostentatious manner." Yet every restriction of their liberty and of their civil rights conduced to the enormous increase of their riches and to their parsimony; and, meanwhile, their numbers doubled in a short space of time, despite their frequent expulsions and the extinction of vast numbers from hunger,

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suffering, and disease. The vices and degradation of the Jews are to be attributed to all these causes, which the wise legislator must remove, since "he who tolerates the cause approves the effects." Give them, says Cattaneo, their rights and their liberties; educate them; associate them with every hope and joy of national life; thus will they bear the burdens of their country without murmuring, and contribute their share joyfully to its prosperity. The mere fact of living in the same country is not community of life: slaves and serfs are on the same footing as beasts of burden. A proscribed sect is an enemy encamped in the bosom of the nation, and, in the secrecy of its private transactions, renders evil for evil, with interest and compound interest.

The result of the application of these maxims is as evident in Italy as in England. Between a Catholic and a Jew in Italy there is no distinction. Jews are as patriotic as Christians; they fill every office of the State, are ministers of the crown, prefects, mayors, generals in the army, conscripts with the colors. And we may add that in the revolutionary battles for the unity and independence of Italy, Israelites were among Garibaldi's volunteers on the battlefield and in the hospitals, even as Jews of Lombardy and of Mantua shared the plots and expeditions of the Young Italy pioneers. This cannot be said for the Catholics, who, while never raising a hand or wielding a sword for the Pope, either in 1849 or in 1870, abstained from fighting at all, on the pretence of not choosing to commit sacrilege. All attempts to convert the Jews to Catholicism in Italy fail utterly. Intermarriages between Jews and Christians are not infrequent, now that civil marriage is obligatory and the religious ceremony optional and of no legal effect. In short, there is no distinction of any sort visible in the country.

The present Minister of the Treasury is a Jew, and to him we owe what are styled the Popular Cooperative Banks. The title is delusive, as in very rare cases do the "people" succeed in obtaining loans except by giving such security as would enable them to obtain them from any ordinary banks. But what is to the purpose is, that all these banks succeed and have held their own throughout the tremendous commercial crisis which Italy has gone through during these late years. Should Signor Luzzatti succeed in introducing economies into the various departments of the Government without endangering the defences of the country, and without stopping public works which are absolutely necessary for the sanitary and industrial progress of the populations, he will take a place among the benefactors of Italy. At any rate, his being a Jew is no impediment—rather, one chance more in favor of his success.

Naturally, the persecution of the Jews in Russia has excited the indignation of their co-religionists in Italy. Nor is it confined to these. All are horrified at the insane barbarity of the Czar of all the Russias, and regard the expulsion of 3,000,000 Jews as a proof of dementia. The other day, 400 Jews landed at Brindisi in the most miserable plight imaginable. The inhabitants welcomed them, ministered to their immediate wants, housed, fed, and clothed them. Then one of the prominent citizens proposed that the municipal council should be convoked at once, and that an appropriation of land be made on which the exiles could build houses and live and enjoy the rights of citizens. The municipal councillors agreed to meet, and we have no doubt that the generous initiative will be followed by other cities. Though no idea of interest or remuneration entered into this proposal, worthy of a civilized nation, one cannot but wish that the wealthy Jews expelled from Russia with such instantaneous and unheard-of cruelty would settle a colony of their poor fellow-sufferers in some of the fertile, uncultivated territories of the peninsula and the islands. They would at once benefit the country of their adoption and themselves. It will be plausibly objected that while Italian immigration is so enormously on the increase, such a proposition sounds absurd; and, in fact, all that Italy could do would be to give grants of land to be redeemed—the capital must come from the organizers of colonization. J. W. M.

DEMOCRATIC ASSUMPTIONS.—V.

CONCLUSION.

LONDON, July 7, 1891.

LET me summarize the results of the train of thought which is indicated rather than followed out in these letters:

(1.) Every institution, and certainly every form of government, which has existed among mankind has been based upon certain beliefs or convictions which, because they were at one time, rightly or wrongly, assumed to be true, we may call assumptions. Neither a hierarchy, nor an aristocracy, nor a monarchy, nor a democracy, can flourish except among a people who cherish the beliefs appropriate to the particular kind of polity.

(2.) From the moment that the sentiments which support a constitution are modified or cease to exist, the constitution itself changes, not perhaps its name or form, but its essence and nature; and if the convictions by which it was maintained cease to be entertained, the constitution itself, be it a despotism or a commonwealth, perishes.

(3.) The beliefs or assumptions which lie at the basis of different forms of government will be always found to contain an element, sometimes a very large element, of real or of apparent truth. The feelings which make men like or tolerate any particular method of administration (which, it may be observed, are a very different thing from the apologies invented for a given method of administering public affairs) are for the most part suggested by large, obvious, patent facts. To some men it may seem astonishing that "the enormous faith of many made for one" should ever have prevailed among rational beings. To another, reverence for a priesthood or for an hereditary nobility may seem nothing better than a proof of the folly or the servility of human nature. But a philosophic thinker will have no difficulty in persuading himself that the belief in the divine right of kings, or trust in the hereditary virtues of certain families or races, had originally its root in ideas which, if not wholly true, were suggested by and in harmony with important facts.

(4.) The assumptions or dogmas of politics, which in more respects than one bear a strange resemblance to the dogmas of theology or of metaphysics, exhibit, when carefully investigated, a peculiarity which has hardly received sufficient attention. When first they obtain acceptance, they seem to the generation by whom they are adopted to be absolute, indisputable truths. They are believed, so to speak, without qualification. As long, further, as an opinion is supposed to be absolutely true, it inspires faith and enthusiasm. A time comes, however, when the dogma, say of the divine right of kings, ceases to be looked upon as more than what may be called a relative truth. It ceases to be the object of faith, it becomes the subject of apology. No sterner Tory lived in his day than Dr. Johnson; but if you were to compare the conscious Toryism of Johnson with the unconscious loyalty of the Englishmen who adored Elizabeth, you would easily discover that between the time of the Tudors and the age of the Hanoverians belief in kingship had undergone a curious decline and transformation.

Let it be noted, further, that the process by which beliefs are changed is not for the most part the force of reasoning. Argument is in politics as in religion rather the excuse than the ground for conversion. It is not the subtlety of logic, but the undiscerned influence of obvious facts, which in the long run influences the opinions and the conduct of mankind. Belief in the divine right of kings perished under the Stuarts, not because the prerogative lacked ardent and acute defenders, but because Charles and his sons had nothing in them to impress their subjects with a sense of royal wisdom and justice, and still more because the safety and the unity of the nation were no longer bound up with loyalty to the crown.

(5.) Democracy, or popular government, is subject to the same laws as other politics. The rule of the people as it now exists, or soon will exist, if not in every civilized State, yet assuredly in every State where the English tongue is spoken, rests upon definite beliefs. There is a democratic creed, just as there was at one time a monarchical creed or an aristocratic creed. The articles of this faith have, it is true, not been very definitely formulated, yet it were not difficult to express them in a distinct series of propositions. Part, however, of their influence consists in their being vague and undefined. Human nature sighs for what is infinite, and the indefinite has a superficial likeness to infinity. The assumptions of democracy contain, moreover, an immense amount of valuable truth. At certain times, and among a given people and under particular circumstances, they may for practical purposes be accepted as axioms. No one, therefore, ought to feel the least surprise at the influence which the democratic creed has exerted and exerts. The most dubious, from a merely argumentative point of view, of all its articles—the dogma of human equality—contains, as I have been at great pains to point out, a large element of important, even, let me say, of vital truth. The time, moreover, has been when the fundamentals of democratic belief were accepted not only by large masses of men, but by thinkers of great power, as absolute truths. A century ago democracy inspired a kind of enthusiasm which to the most ardent among modern Republicans is all but incredible.

> "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
> And to be young was very Heaven."

Who is there, however strong his belief in the sovereignty of the people, who feels it bliss to be alive when he can witness the dull respectability of the French republic under the guidance of President Carnot?

A poet, it may perhaps be said, exaggerated the sentiments of his time. If we wish to measure the depth of the almost unconscious faith in democracy which swayed the world towards the end of the eighteenth century, let us note the ideas entertained by one of the most respectable of English statesmen. Burke's Duke of Richmond, a Whig of the Whigs, "has voluntarily proposed," writes Burke, "to open the elections of England to all those, without exception, who have the qualification of being eighteen years old, and has swept away at one stroke all the privi-

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leges of freeholders, cities, and boroughs throughout the kingdom, and sends every member of Parliament every year to the judgment and discretion of such electors." In other words, an English Whig and a Duke was, nine years before the meeting of the States-General, prepared to advocate a constitution which, from one point of view, would have been more democratic than the Jacobin Constitution of 1795. No doubt his Lordship had not the least idea of the real effect of his proposed reform; but the simplicity with which he adopts democratic conceptions proves better than anything the strength of the democratic faith in the days of its youth. A change has come over the spirit of the world. My object in writing these letters has been to show what this change is.

It may be described very simply. The course of events is gradually forcing on mankind the conviction that the intellectual assumptions on which democracy depends are only relative truths. They may be practically true for Frenchmen, for Englishmen, or for Americans; they are not absolutely true for the whole world. They are not axioms; they are rough and serviceable generalizations. From this condition of things two results, the one speculative, the other practical, may be seen to follow. As a matter of speculation it is probable, if not certain, that popular government will, in more than one respect, within the next fifty or the next hundred years, considerably change its character. Whether it was or was not an act of political wisdom to give votes to the negroes of the Southern States I have no means of judging. Personally, I should easily believe that where every course was open to objection, the statesmen who insisted that the negro should have the full rights of citizens adopted the least dangerous as it was the most generous of policies. But I can well conceive that even now American democrats (I do not use the word in a party sense) feel no great enthusiasm for a step fully in accordance with the ordinarily received doctrines of democracy. It is, at any rate, a plausible conjecture that American citizens will, in the course of the next generation or two, be less eager than were their fathers to welcome the influx of foreign emigrants. These things are matters of conjecture. The practical result of an analysis of democratic assumptions is, that they cannot be treated as axioms from which you can conclusively argue either in favor of or against certain courses of action. Once let it be granted, for example, as it must in fairness be conceded, that the progress of democracy does not always favor the freedom of individuals, and it becomes impossible to argue that a change is good simply because it is democratic, for it is quite possible that changes which in one sense favor popular power are inexpedient because they are hostile to liberty, or, what is pretty nearly the same thing, to justice. To make the judiciary elective, for example, is certainly in one sense to increase the authority of the people; but few are the sensible men who will now accept an arrangement which may be fatal to the character and influence of the bench, simply because an elective judiciary may be termed, and with truth, a democratic institution.

Any reader, if such there be, who has studied my letters with attention, will hardly fail to follow my line of thought. My only fear is lest he should attribute to me a desire to attack popular government. Whoever should do so will misconceive the object with which I have written. Criticism is not censure; it is one thing to judge and quite another to condemn. To say that the assumptions on which popular government rests are, in common with the assumptions which support every polity, relatively and not absolutely true, is a very different thing from showing, or attempting to show, that in modern days democracy is not, for nations who have reached a certain stage of development, the best form of government. The men who, even in the single State of New York, know that democratic government has some inherent, and many more accidental, defects, must be numbered by thousands. The sane men who, throughout the whole United States, hold it possible or desirable that the Union should be governed on other than democratic principles, can hardly, I should suppose, amount even to hundreds. It is, indeed, the delusion, alike of revolutionists and reactionists, to suppose that every critic of democracy is its foe. The delusion rests at bottom on the common error that whoever shows that popular government has its faults, advocates the foundation or restoration of anti-democratic institutions. A keen perception, however, of the truth which these letters are meant to illustrate, that constitutions depend for their life upon conditions of belief and opinion, is absolutely fatal to all schemes of revolution or reaction. Where democratic convictions exist, popular government is secure, and to shake the belief in democracy would, whatever its effect, never restore obsolete forms of government which have perished with the faiths that gave them life.

AN OBSERVER.

Notes.

T. WHITTAKER & Co. will publish directly Canon Cheyne's Bampton Lectures for 1889, on the 'Historical Origin and Religious Ideas of the Psalter.'

D. Appleton & Co. have in press 'Justice,' being Part ii. of Herbert Spencer's "Principles of Morality," begun some years ago with 'The Data of Ethics.' They also announce a new edition of Mr. Spencer's 'Essays—Scientific, Political and Speculative,' in three volumes.

So much of the economic controversy of the day involves an acquaintance with Ricardo's work that a new edition of his 'Principles of *Political Economy and Taxation*,' forming part of "Bohn's Economic Library" (Scribners), is very welcome, especially when, as in the volume before us, an introductory essay is furnished and notes and appendices are added. This matter is supplied by Mr. E. C. K. Gonner, lecturer at University College, Liverpool.

The 'Cyclopædia of Temperance and Prohibition' (Funk & Wagnalls) is a more useful book of reference than one would have expected in view of its unconcealed subordination to the Prohibition propaganda. Much of it consists of records of legislation, ecclesiastical and political deliverances, temperance organizations and movements, and of biographical and historical sketches, in all which the main facts are beyond the warping power of bias. Moreover, in the more speculative portions a good measure of frankness is shown in giving both sides a hearing: thus, the late Dr. Crosby is sandwiched in between two advocates of the "two-wine" theory, and allowed to demolish them both. We should have looked for a fuller statement of the attitude of the various churches. It would seem, also, that the *National Philanthropist*, the first temperance newspaper published in this country, should have had a paragraph to itself, and a place in the index, instead of merely casual mention in two or three biographical articles.

We have already paid our respects to the first four volumes of the handsome new edition of the works of the late Sir William Stirling-Maxwell (London: John C. Nimmo), and now have to record the completion of the enterprise with the appearance of the two concluding volumes. Volume v. is a reprint of the author's standard 'Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles V.' It contains all the matter given in the foregoing three editions, together with notes prepared by Sir William himself for a new edition, and some judicious additions made by his present editor, mostly in the shape of citations from recent publications on the subject. In addition to its typographical attractiveness, the book has the further external charm of some excellent mezzotint engravings of the leading notabilities referred to, and several prints of arms and insignia. The final volume is made up of 'Miscellaneous Essays and Addresses.' Here we find considerable historical and antiquarian matter, mostly relating to Scotland and Spain, Sir William's Rectorial Address at Edinburgh and his Chancellor's Address at Glasgow, and biographical essays on Prescott, Richard Ford, Sir Robert Strange, and the Dukes of Urbino. The author's sympathies naturally go out to Prescott, a worker in his own field. A touch of present-day interest is given in his story of Prescott's failure to obtain copyright in England for his 'Philip II.,' for which Bentley stood ready to pay him $30,000. At that date copyright could be had only by an author acquiring a domicile in England, but this Prescott would take no steps to secure, preferring "to present to the world one signal example more of the great hardship and injustice to which both English and American authors are exposed for want of a reasonable system of international copyright."

Among the Socialist publications which issue so freely from the London house of Swan Sonnenschein & Co., an American interest should be awakened by the volume called 'The English Republic.' This is a compilation, with an appearance of homogeneity, of essays from the periodical bearing the same name, edited by Mr. W. J. Linton in the early fifties. No bibliographical indications serve to reveal the piecing which has been done by Mr. Kineton Parkes to produce this connected body of doctrine; but that is of little consequence. Continuity was not the note of Mr. Linton's writing any more than of his contemporaneous fellow-republicans on the Continent. The paragraph tended to consist of a single sentence, as if the thought would be lost if not isolated. Instructive as is the comparison between the ideals of the Revolutionary period and of the present day, more curious is the human study which Mr. Parkes affords of the restless, fervid, generous career of the venerable radical, poet, and engraver, who has published so much, and who surely was the first man to give artistic style to the printed media of revolution. We well remember the simple elegance of the *English Republic*. His earlier *Cause of the People*, Mr. Parkes says, "was a well-printed quarto on fine thick paper, which bore the impress of taste." Nowhere else than in Mr. Parkes's Introduction can be found so many particulars of Mr. Linton's life.

Students will be glad to have their attention called to a new work, 'Di alcuni commenti della Divina Commedia composti nei primi vent'anni dopo la morte di Dante' (Florence: G. C. Sansoni). The author, Dr. Luigi Rocca, is a young man, but gives evidence of capacity for such scholarly labor.

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The 'Allgemeine Naturkunde,' which has been a long time in course of publication, nears its end, 129 of the 132 parts having now appeared (Westermann & Co.). The section on plant life is the last to be finished. The illustrations in black and white and in color are, as usual, numerous and effective.

The current number of Longmans' *New Review* contains an article on celestial photography by that eminent but rather flighty Frenchman, M. Camille Flammarion. The portion of the paper which confines itself to facts is moderate enough; but physicists and astronomers who are familiar with the names of Fizeau, Foucault, Faye, Janssen, Mouchez, and Schoenfeld will alone be able to recognize them in such mutilations as Skaenfeld, Mague, Yanssen, Flaye, Flaucault, and Sizeau. In his concluding paragraph, "Astronomy plunges us into the insoluble mystery of the Infinite and of Eternity, and therein lies its grandeur," we recognize M. Flammarion surely enough; but not a few astronomers find its grandeur in something else.

Nos. 647-650 of *L'Art* (Macmillan) arrive at the Salon of the Champs-Élysées, in which one good effect of the schism is remarked, viz., the better hanging of the fewer pictures, so that they have "a little air" about them, and are measurably relieved of the killing contrasts which all great art galleries perpetrate. Among the miscellaneous papers there is a brief account, by M. Adolphe Jullien, of an old hôtel in the Marais (rue du Puits), his birthplace, inherited from his father. In tracing its successive owners for nearly three centuries, M. Jullien is much pleased to have encountered a member of the musical family of Hotteterre, contemporaries and associates of Molière. M. Jullien, by the way, had lately been to Rouen to hear a performance of "Lohengrin," one of twenty-six with gross receipts of 80,000 francs.

In the June and July *Portfolio* (Macmillan), Mr. Hamerton's series of chapters on the present state of the fine arts in France continue to furnish the most valuable reading. His topics are respectively "Historical Genre," a seemingly paradoxical expression which he defends, meaning by it a kind of revival of past times in which historical incident is subordinate to the realism of the presentation; and "The Rustic School." He passes briefly in review the artists who illustrate both these themes, and provides pictorial memoranda of their work where he can. Mr. F. G. Stephens has a notable paper on "Thomas Rowlandson, the Humorist," in distinction from Mr. Grego's biographic title, 'Rowlandson, the Caricaturist.'

One article in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for July is pretty certain to be scanned by every reader. It is headed "Positive Pedigrees and Authorized Arms," and is "an attempt at a list of settlers named in Savage's Genealogical Dictionary of New England whose ancestors are recorded in the heraldic visitations of England, and whose descendants are probably living in the United States." The list is short, and must therefore be disappointing to all but a few. Mr. Wm. S. Appleton's name as compiler is a guarantee of its authority. The same number contains Dr. Joseph M. Toner's scrupulous transcripts of the wills of the American ancestors of Washington, some of which have appeared less accurately in these columns. A facsimile of John Washington's signature to his will accompanies the transcript. There is an appendix of interesting Washingtoniana to Mr. H. F. Waters's "Genealogical Gleanings in England," which offer abstracts of wills bearing on American Russells, Mays, Randolphs, Bennetts, Spencers, Samses, Osgoods, Benskins, Allens, Wings, Bachilers, etc. In the will of John Kyle of Stepney, Middlesex, figures his "nephew George Burrough [Burroughs] of New England, clerk," as residuary legatee, the well-known victim of the witchcraft delusion, executed in Salem on August 19, 1692.

We commend to the serious-minded Number 2 of the *Pedagogical Seminary* (Worcester, Mass.: J. H. Orpha). The editor, Dr. G. Stanley Hall, and Prof. Wm. H. Burnham have the laboring oars, and no reflecting parent or teacher can read without profit their "Notes on the Study of Infants," "Contents of Children's Minds on Entering School," "The Study of Adolescence," "The Moral and Religious Training of Children and Adolescents," and "Children's Lies." There is much else besides in this number which deserves attention, but we have not space to particularize.

Faithful and winning portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Henry M. Stanley accompany the *Photographic Times* for July.

"O. S." writes to us from Heidelberg: "*Esprit d'escalier* and *nom de plume* have been discussed in the *Nation* (Vol. 52, p. 343 and p. 362, and lately in Vol. 53, p. 12) as pseudo French and unknown in French literature. I came across a third phrase of the same category, the well-known *toujours perdrix*. It occurs in Anthony Trollope's 'The Last Chronicle of Barset'; but Mr. E. Forgues, in his paraphrase of this novel ('Fleurettes et Réalités,' *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Oct., 1868, p. 671) observes in a footnote, 'C'est l'équivalent de notre *pâté d'anguille*,' as if to show that the phrase is not used in French."

The section of Economic Science and Statistics of the American Association for the Advancement of Science will meet in Washington from August 18 to August 25. Information regarding reduced rates by rail and at hotels, etc., may be had by addressing the Secretary, Mr. B. E. Fernow, Department of Agriculture.

Our notice last week of Mr. Anstey's extravaganza, 'Tourmalin's Time Cheques,' was written from a Chicago edition whose pirated quality we animadverted upon. We had overlooked the very pretty authorized edition published by the Messrs Appleton, which all lovers of honesty and of good taste in typography will, of course, buy by preference.

—Russian Nihilists receive much attention in the August *Harper*, what with Mr. Curtis's endorsement of the famous Phi Beta Kappa oration of Wendell Phillips, and J. H. Rosny's account of Nihilists in Paris. The latter article gives an altogether human presentation of the Russian refugees—abstracted dreamers, some of them, living by preference in the quieter and more country-like parts of the city; others, absorbed students, or men of naturally eager and chafing spirits deadened now by years of vain struggle to a gentle, almost stoical resignation. The prolonged torture of their lives is well brought out, too, in the accounts of haunting spies, given great leeway by the present infatuation of the French authorities with the idea of a Russian alliance, and the constant surveillance and interference and thwarting to which all their actions and plans for securing a livelihood are subjected. We are assured that any organization for revolutionary effort among them is a pure invention of their paid persecutors. An excellent example of what a popular presentation of an abstruse scientific question should be is given in Dr. Andrew Wilson's paper, "What is Inheritance?" It is, of course, the biological *how* of inheritance that he discusses, and he leads the way down to his own theory by a clear and sympathetic statement of Darwin's speculation on pangenesis, and of its modifications by Galton and Weismann. Briefly, Dr. Wilson accepts the latter's division of the propagating germ into "body-cells" and "germ-cells," but objects to regarding the two sets as absolutely independent of each other, holding that the "germ-cells," though exclusively the vehicle of inheritance, yet are themselves "altered and transformed to a greater or less degree by the body-cells." Prof. Grant's article on New Zealand is agreeable reading, though not in very close touch with the most significant facts. His article, with Mr. Besant's on Plantagenet London, Col. Dodge's fourth paper on "American Riders," Du Maurier's serial, and Montgomery Schuyler's "Glimpses of Western Architecture," as caught in Chicago, give occasion for the principal illustrations of the number.

—Fiction is allowed full swing in the August *Century*, filling almost exactly one-half its pages. A double frontispiece gives portraits of Emperor William and his consort, with which goes Mr. Poultney Bigelow's article on the first three years of the former's reign. This is laudatory beyond warrant of any facts presented in it. Mr. Bigelow thinks it sufficient to say of his imperial hero that he is honest and courageous; many will be left with their question whether, in addition, the Emperor has a quality at least as necessary in a ruler who takes Europe for his football—namely, wisdom. The manager of the Associated Press writes discursively of the "Press as a News-Gatherer." He dwells more upon the material expansion and improvement of the newspaper than upon its gain or falling-off, as the case may be, in intellectual and moral weight. In fact, he frankly declines to discuss the latter point. Edward Hungerford's "Our Summer Migration: A Social Study" suggests a fruitful theme which has not received the detailed and continuous attention merited by a social phenomenon now taking on such vast dimensions and attended by such noteworthy changes. Many of these results are dwelt upon by Mr. Hungerford with intelligence, though one misses a close grasp of the actual facts, and feels a certain vagueness as of the work of an essayist rather than an investigator. Mr. Pennell's illustrated article on Provence; "Life on the South Shoal Lightship," by Gustav Kobbé; and the instalment in the California series, are chief among the remaining features of a number evidently gauged in the main to the taste of hammock readers.

—*Scribner's* unconditionally surrenders to August and vacation-time, laying almost no other burden upon its readers than that of choice among all the stories. The beginning of the new serial by R. L. Stevenson, in collaboration with Lloyd Osbourne, will be an event of interest to many. The first chapters scarcely come up to the dire suggestions of the title, "The Wrecker," but the blood will no doubt curdle all in good time. Andrew Lang has an article on Piccadilly, in the series on the Great Streets of the world. He manifests little enthusiasm for his subject—"This essay is not precisely a Praise of Piccadilly," he says, qualifying the Street as "cheerful and satisfactory" rather than beautiful or imposing. As might have been expected, he is stronger on the side of antiquarian reminiscence and literary suggestion than in the matter of actual characterization. Mr. Wigmore's concluding article on "Parliamentary Days in

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Japan" briefly portrays some of the leaders in either house, and aptly comments on methods of parliamentary procedure as modified by Oriental temper and traditions.

—The paper on Gen. Sherman by J. C. Ropes in the *Atlantic* for August would have won early attention from the reader even without the nudge given him on the magazine's cover. It certainly deserves the meed of courage, coming, as it does, when Sherman's canonizing is all but complete. Not that Mr. Ropes plays the part of an *advocatus diaboli:* his criticism is addressed solely to the General's military capacity, and leaves that, even after all deductions are made, on a very high plane. What he undertakes to show is, that the campaign of 1864, up to the time of the march to the sea, was a failure as far as its real object was concerned—that is, the destruction of the opposing army—and that the wisdom of leaving Thomas alone to do what the combined forces had thus far not been able to accomplish, appears rather in the fortunate event than in a fair estimate of the probabilities beforehand. At the same time, he gives Sherman full credit for having clearly perceived in advance the immense moral advantage to be gained by his audacious exploit, and, of course, for the consummate skill with which it was performed. Yet he pauses to observe that the General's announced purpose to destroy the property of non-combatants—as to the fact of such destruction he does not pronounce—was in violation of the recognized laws of war. The spurious correspondence between Seneca and St. Paul affords Harriet W. Preston and Louise Dodge another opportunity for a vivid rendering of a bit of ancient life. To their instances of the stubborn clinging of Catholic and Spanish opinion to the belief in the genuineness of the letters, might have been added mention of an historical painting, recently put on exhibition in Spain, in which the old tradition was given fresh recognition. The season lends timeliness to Olive Thorne Miller's article on bird-lore, and to Miss Thomas's "Notes from the Wild Garden"—a series of poems with a running commentary in prose—which will be sure to delight all lovers of the humble flowers of the field and wayside. We may further specify "The Queen's Closet Opened," a book of combined household medicine and cookery, dating from 1656, out of which fearful and wonderful prescriptions and recipes are drawn; and a paper on "The Reform of the Senate," which finds the root of much of our political evil in the election of Senators by the State Legislatures, and proposes to render this election uncontrollable by the Machine, partly by popular nomination and partly by the double employment of the Australian ballot. The writer is aware of the Constitutional objection which may be made to his scheme.

—The period in our Revolutionary struggle when, as Franklin said, the British were "unable to carry on the war, and too proud to make peace," is covered by the tenth volume of Washington's Writings edited by Worthington C. Ford (G. P. Putnam's Sons). The Confederation was equally perplexed, and the army felt the weight of its neglect. "Private interest," Washington complained, deterred the Southern States from assenting to Col. John Laurens's proposal to levy a black regiment in South Carolina and in Georgia before either Charleston or Savannah had been evacuated by the enemy. When cessation of hostilities was actually proclaimed and exchange of prisoners begun, Washington protested to Gen. Carleton against the shipping off with the Tory emigrants a number of ex-slaves, and begged him "to prevent the future carrying away of any negroes or other property of the American inhabitants." The evacuation of New York gives us in this volume the commander's farewell orders to the American armies and resignation of his commission, and we see him retired to his estate and bargaining for the hire (or "purchase," as it was styled) of newly arrived Palatines, or of any efficient housejoiner or bricklayer; "if they are good workmen, they may be from Asia, Africa or Europe; they may be Mahometans, Jews, or Christians of any sect, or they may be Atheists." To Benjamin Harrison and to Hamilton he expresses himself earnestly concerning the defects of the existing Constitution and the need of a better cemented Federal Government. There is a noticeable appeal to the Virginia Assembly, through Madison, on behalf of "poor Paine." Washington certifies, Sept. 7, 1784, to having examined James Rumsey's model of a steamboat, and seen it tried "in running water of some rapidity," and expresses his belief in the vast importance of the discovery. In the last letter but one in the present volume he relates his acquaintance with David Bushnell, the inventor, whose fleet-destroying torpedo never justified the hopes formed in regard to it. Washington, though distrusting this "effort of genius," gave money towards it, but Bushnell "never did succeed. One accident or another always intervened."

—It would appear that Washington's aversion to slavery grew with his years until the time came for the emancipation of his own chattels by his will. The *Athenæum* of July 11 prints, for the first time, as it asserts, a letter from the ex-President written four months before his death, and dated Mount Vernon, August 17, 1797. In it he says to his correspondent, Mr. Robert Lewis:

"It is demonstratively clear that on this Estate (Mount Vernon) I have more working Negroes by a full moiety, than can be employed to any advantage in the farming system, and I shall never turn Planter thereon. To sell the overplus I cannot, because I am principled against this kind of traffic in the human species. To hire them out, is almost as bad, because they could not be disposed of in families to any advantage, and to disperse the families I have an aversion. What, then, is to be done? Something must, or I shall be ruined," etc.

—Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney has recently given to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts all the duplicates and nearly all the trial-proofs of the engraved work of her husband, the late Seth Wells Cheney, and his brother John. These two remarkable New England artists have given rise to at least eight collections, of which three are in Philadelphia, and the Boston Museum's is now the largest and, after Mrs. Cheney's, the most complete. Mr. S. R. Koehler rates John Cheney as an engraver above the late A. B. Durand, and complains of the neglect shown him by the dictionaries of biography, the latest (Appletons') offending both by meagreness and by total inaccuracy. He has accordingly prepared with great labor a 'Catalogue of the Engraved and Lithographed Work of John Cheney and Seth Wells Cheney' (Boston: Lee & Shepard), which he offers as a not exhaustive essay. Prefixed to it is a very pleasing portrait of John Cheney, whose engraving was much more extensive than that of Seth, famous rather for his crayon portraits. The description of plates is most minute, and these are followed carefully through their changes of issue in the score of "annuals" fashionable in their day, and changes of title when reprinted as fancy pieces. Indexes show what a large number of artists, English and American, were thus copied on steel or on stone, and what an array of portraits of eminent Americans was produced by John. Martha Washington, Mrs. Sigourney, Fanny Kemble, Channing, Allston, Longfellow, Bryant, Halleck, Willis, Webster, Everett, Story, are a portion. Many ladies of good family, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia beauties, figured as ideal subjects in the *Token*, the *Literary Souvenir*, the *Ladies' Cabinet Album*, the *Youth's Keepsake*, *Friendship's Offering*, and the rest. The most interesting particular is related in connection with the joint reproduction, by the brothers, of Allston's posthumous 'Outlines and Sketches.' In the introduction to the folio volume thus made up, the engravers speak of the reduction in scale they were sometimes obliged to make, and say that when this was necessary "the daguerreotype was used, by which the image was conveyed to the engraver's plates prepared for that purpose, and there fixed by tracing the line through the silver." This bears date Boston, January 1, 1850. Twenty years elapsed before this principle was employed in photographing on the block, thus revolutionizing the art of wood-cutting by exchanging line for tone, and developing an American school which now leads the world. Mr. Koehler deserves hearty thanks for his labor of love.

—A striking figure is lost to Spanish literature in the death on July 20 of Pedro Antonio de Alarcón. Though not an old man, his literary activity began at so early an age that it covers almost two generations, the fantastic tales of his youth having delighted the fathers of those who were eagerly reading his powerful novels twenty-five years afterwards. Born at Guadix, Granada, March 10, 1833, he took the impress of his birthplace in a certain Oriental flavor that always marked him—his lofty bearing, warm and somewhat unregulated imagination, and fascinating gifts as a story-teller. Thrown into the whirl and struggle of life in Madrid at the age of twenty, he wrought fiercely as poet, critic, journalist, and politician, gaining many enemies, a few friends, and less money. A successful drama, "El Hijo Pródigo," came from his pen in 1857, but was so bitterly criticised by his political and literary antagonists that, in a rage, he withdrew it from the theatre where the public was flocking, and never allowed it to be played again as long as he lived, nor would he ever write for the stage again. Apparently renouncing letters, he rushed off as a volunteer in O'Donnell's expedition to Morocco, but his letters describing the military operations were so vivid in themselves, and so fell in with the nation's unaccustomed taste of glory, that they gave him an immense fame, and he solemnly declares that before leaving camp he had received more than 20,000 congratulatory letters from all parts of Spain. Travel and political life kept his pen comparatively idle for several years, but in 1875 he reopened his literary career with a novel, 'El Escándalo,' which created a greater sensation than any book published in Spain in the century. For this, and for his inimitable short story, 'El Sombrero de Tres Picos,' he will be principally remembered. His collected works fill eighteen volumes. Since 1884 he had lived in retirement, driven to it partly by the exaggerated sensitiveness which threw him into a fury at hostile criticism, and partly by failing health.

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—As the planet Saturn approaches that point in its orbit where two months hence the ring system will disappear, a multitude of watchers will be turning all sorts of telescopes upon it, both large and small. Prof. Trouvelot of Paris has already printed an elaborate paper to direct attention to the special features connected with the "disappearance," which will repay the technical observer. Meanwhile, Mr. Stanley Williams of Burgess Hill, Sussex, notifies the discovery of three delicate but distinct markings in the equatorial region of the ball of Saturn. The first and third of these are round, bright spots, somewhat brighter than the white equatorial zone in which they are situated. The second is a smaller dark marking on the equatorial edge of the shaded belt which forms the southern boundary of the white zone. While it requires patience and practice to see these markings readily, Mr. Williams has obtained abundant proof of their reality; and he publishes in the current astronomical periodicals a brief ephemeris to facilitate observations of the much-desired transits of these spots across the planet's central meridian. It will be remembered that in December of 1876 a bright equatorial spot on Saturn was discovered at Washington, which was followed and measured through more than sixty rotations of the planet, and which gave for its axial period 10h., 14m., 24s. But this determination, while the most accurate at present known, requires correction in the way of further approximation, which the continued observation of the newly discovered spots will, it is hoped, provide the material for. Unfortunately, the planet is already so far advanced towards its conjunction with the sun that these delicate markings are beyond all but the best of eyes and telescopes.

RECENT WORKS ON RAILROADS.

A FEW years ago railroad literature consisted almost wholly of technical works, which were of little interest to the outside reader. To-day the change in this respect is very marked. Public curiosity concerning railroad methods and railroad operations has become wider. It is probable that more books have been written to meet this outside demand in the last two years than in any previous period of ten times that length. Some of these works are purely popular, written to interest and amuse the public. Others are intended primarily for railroad men, but so arranged as to attract outside readers also. Still another class, probably the most important of all, is written for that section of the public which is willing to make a serious study of questions of railroad economy in their wider bearings. Both here and in England the idea has at last gained a foothold that railroad legislation is not the simple thing men once supposed, but a matter of the utmost complexity and importance; and one prominent symptom of this change is to be found in the literature to which it has given rise.

Of the more popular books, the first were histories of individual railroad systems, of which those of the Baltimore and Ohio and the Northern Pacific, the latter by Mr. E. V. Smalley, were the best known. Of recent works of this kind, none is more valuable than W. K. Ackerman's history of the Illinois Central, a system which has played a unique part in the transportation developments of the country, and whose growth is described in the work before us with unusual care. The same kind of descriptive work has been done for British railroads by Mr. W. M. Acworth, a Parliamentary barrister and writer of considerable prominence. A number of magazine articles by this author on the management of the different English systems have been collected into two volumes under the titles 'The Railways of England' and 'The Railways of Scotland' (London: John Murray). Though purely popular, and making no pretension to depth of reasoning, they give a great deal of useful information of a desultory but interesting kind as to the methods in use in Great Britain. Perhaps the nearest parallel to Mr. Acworth's book in American literature is to be found in the work published by the Scribners two years ago, under the title 'The American Railway'; the chief difference being that the Scribners' book was arranged by topics instead of companies, and written by a number of different authors instead of by one.

Of widely different size and scope is Ringwalt's 'Transportation Systems of the United States' (Philadelphia: The *Railway World*). This is nothing less than an undigested collection of information of all sorts, good, bad, and indifferent, bearing on the canals and railroads of the United States from the beginning until now. It forms a volume of enormous size, whose usefulness in its different parts depends wholly upon the source from which the information was drawn, and not at all upon any head-work of the compiler. It is a collection of materials for history rather than a history itself, and its usefulness in this respect is impaired by a lack of references to the authorities whence the information is drawn. In spite of this drawback, it will be of considerable service to specialists, and perhaps to those general readers who are endowed with abundant leisure and strong intellectual digestion.

Among works of more technical character the foremost is A. M. Wellington's 'Economic Theory of Railway Location' (New York: John Wiley). This book, though in one sense old, has passed through successive editions by which its original appearance has been much changed, and which have made it virtually new. It has merited its success thoroughly. It was the first book in the English language which applied principles of political economy to modern methods of railroading; and although written by an engineer for engineers, it contains a great deal which would be useful to legislators and courts, if they only had the sense to read it and apply it. It shows more clearly than any other book the effect of modern improvements upon cost of transportation, the conditions which govern intelligent investment of capital, and the general principles of economy in operation; and it also incidentally contains much information about railroad rates and railroad policy. The criticism may perhaps fairly be made that some things have considerably greater clearness in Mr. Wellington's mind than they have in the actual order of nature; or, in other words, that he does not always know quite as much as he thinks he knows. But where a man actually does know so much and has done such good work as the author of this book, we cannot find severe fault with him for sometimes setting himself up on a pedestal.

A recent English book on railroad operation deserves more than passing mention. This is 'The Working and Management of an English Railway,' by George Findlay, General Manager of the London and Northwestern Railway Company (London: Whittaker & Co.). It grew out of a course of lectures at the Brompton School of Military Engineering, and has rapidly passed through three editions. It treats primarily of the railroad as an organization, taking up successively the staff, the permanent way, signalling, telegraphing, rolling stock in its various forms, train management and staff management; finally dealing with rates and fares, and the relations between the Government and the railroads. The last part of this book is not so good as the first. The author has attempted to write from his own experience without much outside reading on the subject; and while this experience is of great service in describing English methods of railroad operation, he falls far behind the times in his knowledge of what has been written on the relations between the railroads and the public. In this respect English railroad men stand distinctly behind those of America or Continental Europe. Mr. Findlay's mind, on the whole, reflects the conventional attitude of English railroad managers on this subject, rather than the progressive thinking which is going to tell in the long run.

In this connection Mr. W. M. Acworth, whose more popular writings have been already alluded to, has rendered great public service by a book entitled 'The Railways and the Traders' (London: John Murray). The author is a thoroughly wide-awake man, who has studied not only English railroads, but Continental and American ones, and who in fact made extensive travels in the United States with direct reference to the objects with which this book has been written. He has unquestionably given us the most valuable contribution to railroad economics of the past three or four years. Unfortunately he writes as an advocate rather than a judge, having been employed by the Railway Companies Association to "sketch the railway rates question from the railway point of view." Doubtless there were reasons for such a policy in the special circumstances of English legislation at the time. We cannot help regretting that the book should not be ostensibly written in a judicial spirit, as it is really in most parts.

After a brief introduction, the author first takes up the principles involved in rate-making, showing the difficulties of apportioning cost of service, the absolute impracticability of equal mileage rates, and the necessity of charging what the traffic will bear. He shows the meaning of the principle of charging what the traffic will bear by analogies from turnpike tolls, from taxation, and from charges for professional service. He shows how false is the belief that one portion of traffic taken at specially low rates is done at the expense of the rest—the most prevalent of all fallacies. At the same time he carefully recognizes the necessity of protecting shippers against charges which the traffic will not bear; and in asking who shall fix the rate, he takes a point of view more judicial than that of almost any court that has attempted to rule on the subject. His conclusion is that the initiative in rate-making must, on the whole, remain in the hands of the agents of the companies, because State initiative does not furnish the facilities and the progress which England or America demands, while the French system of strict control has been purchased at the cost of most severe sacrifices in every direction.

When he comes to consider actual railroad practice, he resumes the attitude of an advocate. He holds that while English rates are high, there are good reasons for this inherent in the nature of the business. He arrives at this conclusion by a series of detailed comparisons to which we have no space to do justice. Admitting the existence of extortionate rates in many special cases, he holds, as does every student of the question, that it is useless to rely on competition; that the traders' demands, as presented to Parliamentary committees, are

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much more unjust than the existing railroad practice; and that even the professional orders of the Board of Trade, recently adopted, go too far in the direction of restraint. We recommend the study of this book to all who are interested in seeing live questions vigorously dealt with, or in comparing results of business management and of legislation in America and Europe.

No account of recent English literature on this subject would be complete without some reference to a monograph on 'Express Trains,' by Messrs. Foxwell and Farrer (London: Smith, Elder & Co.), which formed the theme of an article in these columns at the time of its appearance two years ago. With infinite care and pains the writers have made a comparison of express mileage in different parts of the world, as developed in the summer of 1888, placing England in the front rank of efficiency in this respect, America second, and the rest of the world far behind. Among the different countries of Continental Europe, France and Holland do relatively best, Germany not nearly so well. The criticisms in this book were far from being relished by the German Government. It has sought to blind the eyes of the public by articles in the *Archiv für Eisenbahnwesen* which are far from worthy of the standing of that journal; and, still more wonderful to relate, finding this defence unsatisfactory, it has from that day forth begun to put on better trains with astonishing rapidity.

Of recent American works on railroad economics, Bonham's 'Railway Secrecy and Trusts' (Putnams) requires but slight comment. Those who are familiar with the same author's previous work on 'Industrial Liberty' will understand that whatever he writes is ably presented, but without adequate conception of some of the practical difficulties of the case. A more valuable book, which has deserved wider attention than it has received, is W. D. Dabney's 'Public Regulation of Railways' (Putnams). Written primarily for the needs of legislative committees, this book presents its special aspect of the subject in clear and logical fashion. It can perhaps best be described as a book about railroad law and legislation for non-professional men, written with a thorough understanding of the difficulties involved and a good sense of proportion in estimating the relative importance of various objects. There are places where we could have wished that the author had put a little more of himself into the book instead of simply giving other people's opinions, which is more than can be said of every man who writes on subjects like these.

A much more pretentious book, but not nearly so good, is that of A. B. Stickney on 'The Railway Problem' (St. Paul: D. D. Merrill Co.). Mr. Stickney's experience as President of the Chicago, St. Paul and Kansas City Railroad led people to hope for a really valuable discussion of the subject, which should leave us further advanced than we were when he began to write. Unfortunately, he has committed precisely the same mistake as Mr. Findlay in his book on English railways, and has supposed that his experience would relieve him of the necessity of reading what other people had written on the subject. The result is, that some of his propositions are commonplace and others impracticable. A very little examination of what had already been done would have shown him his errors in these respects. Not that his book is wholly without value. On the contrary, it gives an extremely interesting popular account of methods employed in Western railroad construction and of the conditions under which railroad tariffs grew up. The author has been engaged in general business quite as much as in railroading, so that he looked at the question from both sides; and, in his account of the Granger movement, attempts to do fuller justice to all parties than has been generally the case. It seems to us that he goes too far in his favorable judgment of any of the Granger laws. "The object of all Granger laws," he says, "has been to prevent discrimination by making all rates equal or proportionate, rather than to reduce the amounts to be collected by the railways." Now, while it may be true that this was one of their objects, it is by no means a fair account of their general character. The main object was to equalize by levelling down rather than by any more rational method, and this levelling process has often been adopted in most reckless fashion. If railroad rates could actually be fixed upon the principles which Mr. Stickney supposes to be possible, the Granger legislation might have worked better than it did. But, in point of fact, the writer betrays his ignorance of the subject of rate-making, and leaves small reason to wonder that the road of which he was President was an extremely unsuccessful one. Working from his own head, and without clear knowledge of what has been written and done, he assumes that rates should be based on cost of service in precisely the crude way which was followed by writers thirty years ago. He is at least a generation behind the time in his knowledge of matters of railroad economy. His proposals for standard average rates, making the same ratio between different articles all over the country, and basing rate determination upon mathematical principles instead of upon the needs of business, would necessarily result in keeping rates up and in impairing efficiency of the service rendered. Nor can we agree with his proposals as to methods of management any better than with those as to railroad economy. It is undoubtedly true that railroads exercise quasi-public functions as agents of the State; but, with the Government of the United States organized as it is at present, we can hardly expect to have the French system of control put in force without loss of power and efficiency greater than we see in France, and far greater than the American public would for a moment tolerate. Bad as have been many abuses of railroad management, we believe that they can be better corrected by the action of the courts in enforcing equality than by a comprehensive scheme of regulation and of rate adjustment which would make railroading a department of the Government rather than a progressive business.

PALMER'S ODYSSEY.

The Odyssey of Homer. Translated by George Herbert Palmer, Alford Professor of Philosophy in Harvard University. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1891.

Professor Palmer, in his brief and graceful preface, has himself anticipated and disarmed criticism, if that were not already accomplished by the scholarship and the various merits of his work. He confesses that he has been allured by the song of the Sirens, and that he has failed in the impossible attempt to reproduce it. In other words, he has given us one more view of a poem which has many facets. It is, in several respects, a clear and true view; it is inevitably, also, somewhat incomplete and unsatisfactory. Perhaps there is no way for the modern reader to get the "parallax" of Homer except by making his observations from the standpoint of various translators. If Keats was able to divine the greatness of Homer through Chapman, he might certainly obtain new and delightful impressions by the aid of Worsley or of Mr. Palmer, and might as justly have paid to either of these workmen the well-earned tribute of a sonnet.

The present volume contains the whole of the 'Odyssey,' and completes the first twelve books, which appeared in 1884. The Greek text which accompanied that edition is here omitted, and a large number of slight changes have been made in the version as it first appeared. These changes are all in favor of simplicity or exactness, or of a Saxon diction; frequently, also, they have been made in the interest of the rhythm. A few inaccuracies have been corrected. The alterations are all for the better, but they are very slight in substance, and the main qualities of the work have been maintained just what they were in the earlier instalment, which was noticed in this journal on its first appearance. If Mr. Palmer had been content to produce the best prose translation of the 'Odyssey' that has yet appeared, we believe (with all due appreciation of preceding work) that he could have succeeded. He has not been content, however, with a plain prose version. He has seen the difficulty of rendering Homer in our ordinary English metres, and has cherished a theory that the free, continuous movement of the hexameter could best be conveyed by a novel form of prose which he describes as "iambic recitative." We have already expressed our opinion of this expedient. We believe that it is the one serious mistake in a work which has otherwise exquisite qualities of taste and scholarship. We believe that the real value of the work does not lie in this expedient at all; that its charm might have been retained and increased if the same vocabulary had been used in a prose of ordinary legitimate rhythm. When we say *legitimate* we are, of course, taking for granted the question with regard to certain innovations of Mr. Walt Whitman and Mr. William Morris. There is no great harm in innovating, but an innovator must win his way; in matters of taste, he must not merely capture but captivate his constituency. Men will not long look askance at a strange beauty if they really find her beautiful. Now, we are sure that Prof. Palmer in his lecture-room has read his own prose so skilfully as to produce an agreeable impression on the ears of his listeners generally; we doubt whether the ordinary reader could do as much; we have a fancy, moreover, that the most refined ear, even when listening to Mr. Palmer, would have cause for offence and uneasiness. We have a fancy that Keats, for instance, would have been uneasy in listening to the "iambic recitative."

The reason is simple enough. It constantly leads the careful listener to expect verse, and it frequently disappoints him with the cadences of prose; it gives him sometimes half-a dozen iambics, followed by a dactyl, or trochees, or a fragment of a line, ending in a hedge or a ditch of plain prose. It suggests occasionally the effect of being carried by a badly broken horse: one cannot tell what his next gait will be. At the same time, there is a monotony in these long stretches of iambic movement which is not felt in the blank verse of any great master, with its finish and variety of music, to which Mr. Palmer's method does not pretend. There is felt, again, an occasional incongruity when we meet homespun prose phrases travelling in the rhythm of poetry. Neither this monotony nor this in-

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congruity is perceived in the 'House of the Wolfings,' a venture that provokes comparison with Mr. Palmer's, and of which we may almost say that its "beauty is its own excuse for being." Whatever we may think of this experiment theoretically, it has at least the merit of consistency—it keeps up a poetic diction from beginning to end. It seems, moreover, to contradict Mr. Palmer's conclusion that the Saxon English "carries in itself a dominant iambic beat." Mr. Morris writes Saxon English with a prevailing rhythm which to our ear is dactylic or anapæstic, and in so far more akin to Homer's verse, and certainly, as it is handled, swifter and more varied than the "iambic recitative." Mr. Morris was, of course, less hampered: he was moving at his own will and was not tied to the chariot wheels of a master. At any rate, he has avoided monotony; he has also avoided any inconsistency between his expression and his rhythm.

The real merits of Mr. Palmer's translation are its transparent diction, its directness, its combination of fidelity with idiom, of dignity with ease, and its eminent readableness. It shows the fluent grace of the original like a Coan robe. In some of the qualities just enumerated, it is a strong contrast to Butcher and Lang's 'Odyssey.' We have a high admiration for the conscientiousness and the felicitous turns which abound in the work of these scholars—felicities to which, indeed, Mr. Palmer's work is deeply indebted. But it must be confessed that its Biblical phraseology, its artificial tone, its diffuseness, become very wearisome. The movement is heavy. The diffuseness passes beyond the easy fulness of Homer, and degenerates into the wordiness of our early Chroniclers. The Biblical phrases become distracting; their cleverness seems to spring from the Concordance, as certain modern Latin verses derive from the 'Gradus ad Parnassum.' It is, moreover, next to impossible to write with consistency for any length of time an artificial language. People who walk on stilts must expect sometimes to get an awkward fall. And this happens to the translators when they offer the grotesque Scriptural reminiscence, "The proud wooers who speak friendly with their lips but imagine evil in their latter end"; and when they use the strange English, "All her joints were loosened," "The suitors died outright for laughter."

It is certainly a defence for some of these expressions that their strangeness is due to a conscientious attempt to imitate some feature of the original. Mr. Palmer did not entangle himself with the problem of reproducing Homer's archaism or conventionality of language—a problem which exists for any one who considers all sides of the Homeric style. The men who first heard Homer's verse undoubtedly heard forms which they did not use in ordinary conversation, while to the later Greeks it was a storehouse of poetic and archaic expression. But this problem Mr. Palmer did not touch at all, and on the whole it need not fall within the province of a prose translation. With the instinct of a delicate literary taste, he has avoided such pitfalls as we have mentioned. He has seen just how far fidelity can be pushed, how far the idioms of the two languages can be made to travel together, and at what point they must diverge. The experiment which he tried of dropping the *thee* and *thou* of solemn style has been a complete success. It relieves the reader greatly, and has not marred in the slightest the dignity of the style. Though he avoids far-fetched words and fine phrases, and though he fancies he has eschewed the "dream language, the language of poetry," the same happy instinct has saved him from making his prose prosaic. As a matter of fact, the inversions which he permits himself and his choice of words differ constantly, though subtly, from ordinary prose, and make up much of the charm of the achievement. In his representations of the naïveté of Homer, he has been sometimes very daring, and we cannot always follow him in the results. We submit that the "pretty" clothes and the "Papa dear" of Nausicaa smack of the boudoir rather than of the Arcadian housewifery and the toilet by the sea. "He shall fight the crowd" (πλεόνεσσι μαχήσεται) hits the meaning exactly, and is very clever—if it is not a little profane. When Melantho meets Odysseus, after his defeat of the beggar Irus, she taunts him in language which we quote as an extreme instance of Mr. Palmer's familiar style:

"Why, silly stranger, you are certainly some crack-brained person, unwilling to go to the coppersmith's to sleep, or to the common lodge; but here you prate continually, braving these many lords and unabashed at heart. Surely the wine has touched your wits; or else it is your constant way to chatter idly. Are you beside yourself because you beat that scapegrace Irus? A better man than Irus may by and by arise, to box your pate with doughty blows and pack you out-of-doors all dabbled with your blood."

If we may trust our ear, this rings a little false; it has fallen a note lower than the original. It is dramatically suitable, but we see no precise warrant in the Greek for the general lowering of tone and the oddity of the closing sentence.

We had marked many neat phrases and skilful turns of expression for quotation, but it is not fair to judge by a handful of sparkling drops the even current of a style which flows strong and pellucid, confusing nothing, distorting very rarely, and mirroring with fidelity the large and simple traits of the original. We prefer to leave the last word to Mr. Palmer, and to let him show for himself how he can rise as well as sink—how nobly he compasses a poetic passage even though, as he says, he "employs persistently the veracious language, the language of prose":

"Meanwhile our staunch ship swiftly neared the Sirens' island; a fair wind swept her on. On a sudden the wind ceased; there came a breathless calm; Heaven hushed the waves. My comrades, rising, furled the sail, stowed it on board the hollow ship, then, sitting at their oars, whitened the water with the polished blades. . . . But when we were as far away as one can call and driving swiftly onward, our speeding ship, as it drew near, did not escape the Sirens, and thus they lifted up their penetrating voice: 'Come hither, come, Odysseus, whom all praise, great glory of the Achæans! Bring in your ship, and listen to our song. For none has ever passed us in a black-hulled ship till from our lips he heard ecstatic song, then went his way rejoicing and with larger knowledge. For we know all that on the plain of Troy Argives and Trojans suffered at the gods' behest; we know whatever happens on the bounteous earth.'"

GREEN'S SPANISH CONSPIRACY.

The Spanish Conspiracy. A Review of Early Spanish Movements in the Southwest, containing Proofs of the Intrigues of James Wilkinson and John Brown; of the complicity therewith of Judges Sebastian, Wallace, and Innes; the Early Struggles of Kentucky for Autonomy; the Intrigues of Sebastian in 1795–7 and the Legislative Investigation of his Corruption. By Thomas Marshall Green. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1891.

It fell to our lot during the last summer to review at some length a posthumous work of the late Col. John Mason Brown, in which, under the title of the 'Political Beginnings of Kentucky,' it was sought by that gentleman to vindicate his grandfather, John Brown, from the suspicion of having had art or part in the so-called "Spanish Conspiracy" set on foot for the separation of Kentucky from the Union in 1786 and later. For the purpose of this vindication, Col. Brown found it necessary to impeach the accuracy of certain very specific statements made by Humphrey Marshall in his well-known History of Kentucky, and in this way the embers of a long-buried controversy were raked afresh from the ashes beneath which they had slumbered for more than three generations, but beneath which, it seems, they had lost none of their wonted fires in the lapse of a century. In the work before us Mr. Green has sought to kindle these embers into a leaping flame for the destruction of John Brown's political fame and for the special confusion of his latest apologist, who is represented to have been inspired with much more of pious zeal than of either truth or candor in performing the task so imprudently undertaken.

It is to be regretted, we think, that a pure and simple question of history should be complicated, as between the descendants of John Brown and of Humphrey Marshall, with a polemical purpose which discolors the narrative of the disputants on both sides, and disturbs the serenity of impartial students in their quest for truth. The color of the time is quite obscured by these obsolete personalities. Injustice is likely to be done as well to the truth as to the error of men who acted a difficult part in a grave conjuncture, when their dark striving is pursued, even across the grave, with the fierce outcries and hoarse denunciations of the political forum. Col. Brown, it is true, wrote with a becoming moderation of style, but he wrote in support of what seems to us an impossible thesis, and with a *parti pris* which hid from his sight the true perspective of history. Mr. Green, in the work before us, maintains a thesis which seems to us substantially true, but he writes with an acerbity of temper and with a personal acrimony which often impair the strength of his historical argument.

The reader, however, should not allow himself to be too much surprised at the vivacity brought by Mr. Green to his exposition of the issues which so sharply divided the houses of Brown and of Marshall in the early annals of Kentucky. The author confesses that he had only a limited acquaintance with the facts of this formative period until they were forced upon his attention by "the astonishing statements which are made in the 'Political Beginnings.'" It was natural, too, that these facts should be accentuated by the polemical purpose which breathes through every page of this volume. The strange and picturesque incidents of this stirring period have therefore come upon the writer with something like the surprise which attends a new discovery, and this surprise often finds expression in a flamboyant style of literary composition, much more remarkable for the reiterated stress of its emphasis than for its strength of reserve. Cicero pleasantly tells us in one of his letters that, in writing the history of his consulship, he had emptied on it the perfumery-pot of Isocrates, the jewel cases of all that rhetorician's disciples, and a slight sprinkling of pigments borrowed from Aristotle. Mr. Green is

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much more simple in his color values. He satisfies himself with monochrome by hurling the contents of his inkstand in blow upon blow aimed at the hapless performance of Col. Brown. Even when he pays a tribute to what seems "a solitary truth" in the 'Political Beginnings,' he can do so in words no less high-pitched than these:

"As the enraptured eye of the wearied traveller in the Sahara rests with delight upon the distant palm trees which shade the sparkling spring of sweet and living water that gushes out from amidst the sands of the desert, so will the reader who has wandered through this bewildering maze of suppression, evasion, and invented inaccuracy, which appear in the 'Political Beginnings,' be charmed to find in all its pages a solitary truth." (P. 316.)

Animadversion on the errors and inaccuracies of the book which Mr. Green takes for his quarry is couched in a lurid style which leaves nothing to the imagination of the reader. The following citation will serve as a specimen:

"These tortuous concealments of the evidence, these pitiful efforts to evade the facts, these statements which are so emphatically contradicted by John Brown himself, and these shameless accusations of others, render the 'Beginnings,' instead of the 'vindication' for which it was designed by its author, a sorrowful, a painful, and a most sickening confession of the author's own conviction of John Brown's guilt, and of his detection of John Brown's deceits in his efforts to conceal that guilt." (P. 381.)

It will be admitted that even the truth of history is liable to suffer damage from a style like that.

It would have been much better if both Col. Brown and Mr. Green could have been content to put the so-called "Spanish Conspiracy" in the large historic framework to which it rightfully belongs, instead of viewing it through the pin-hole of a personal and political feud that is emptied of all significance at the present day. That there was "a Spanish Conspiracy," which in one or another of its phases and manifestations extended from the year 1785 to the year 1806, will be denied by none who has acquainted himself with the annals of that epoch. The fact of such a conspiracy, sometimes working underground and sometimes breaking out in eruptions of popular ferment, meets us again and again in the political archives of that time, as well as in the pages of Gayarré, who first gave to the story of this plot a full and perfect confirmation based on authentic documents still preserved at Madrid.

The roots of the plot were planted in the critical period which immediately followed the conclusion of the treaty of peace with England after the Revolution. The Federal Union at that time, as Gayarré phrases it, and as everybody knows, "was weak in the very bones and marrow of its organization." Washington, writing to John Jay in 1786, expressed the opinion that, ignorant as were our political councils at that time, they were inspired still more by a spirit of popular wickedness. He confessed that the waywardness of the Western people was even more to be feared than the machinations of the Spaniards at New Orleans. While Wilkinson was bargaining with Gov. Miró at the mouth of the Mississippi River, Gardoqui, the Spanish Minister at Philadelphia, was openly coquetting with the members of the Continental Congress, and bluntly avowed the opinion that "the people of Kentucky would make good Spanish subjects, and would become such for the sake of the privileges annexed to that character." The impending separation of the western part of the country from the Eastern States was a topic of common remark, and Jefferson wrote to Madison in 1787 that it might be expected to take place at any moment. The letters of Madison from 1785 to 1792 are replete with apprehensions on this same subject, for we find him reciting again and again, to one or another of his correspondents, how the people of Georgia seemed at one time to vie with the people of Kentucky for the favor of the Spaniards at New Orleans, in flagrant contempt of their Federal obligations; how the people of Kentucky, in their eagerness for political independence, "disliked to be hung up on the will of Congress" in the matter of their separation from Virginia; how it was soon to be decided whether "it were possible or worth while to preserve the Union of the States"; how a concurrence with Spain in her settled project for closing the Mississippi River to Western commerce would have for its inevitable consequence to barter away "the affections of our ultramontane brethren"; how "the people at large on the Western waters," abetted by the State of Virginia, which was "already jealous of Northern politics," would consider themselves as "sold by their Atlantic brethren" if Gardoqui should be successful in his negotiation with Jay; how all these jealousies and apprehensions were stimulated and exaggerated by the proposed surrender of the right to navigate the Mississippi River for the term of twenty-five years; how, as the result of such a surrender, "it would be no unnatural consequence" if the people of the West "should consider themselves absolved from every Federal tie, and should court some [foreign] protection for their betrayed rights"; how men of reflection, in view of these popular discontents, grew less and less sanguine as to the possibility of achieving a new system of government in proportion as they grew more and more despondent over the then existing anarchy; how the bulk of the American people, in dread of turbulence at the East, like that witnessed in Shays's rebellion, and in dread of turbulence at the West, like that menaced by Spanish intrusion, would probably end by preferring a partition of the Union into three distinct and energetic Governments, the Eastern, the Southern, and the Western; how "the ambition of individuals [who were these individuals?], mixing itself with the first impulses of resentment and interest," might by degrees lead the people of the West "to set up for themselves"; how Great Britain at the North was beckoning to Kentucky from the Canadian border, and how Spain at the South, "taking advantage of this disgust in Kentucky," was then (in 1787) "actually endeavoring to seduce them [the Kentuckians] from the Union by holding out a darling object which would never be obtained by them in the Union"; how this disunion plot, though concerted in secret, "was as certain as it was important"; how the commercial freedom of the Mississippi River had become at that crisis "a bait for the defection of the Western people"; and how "some of the leaders of Kentucky [who were these "leaders?"] *were known* to favor the idea of a connection with Spain," while the people at large were as yet inimical to the project, because their future disposition was dependent on the measures that should be adopted by the new Government about to be framed under the Constitution of 1787.

Such, in brief, is an outline sketch of that larger framework of historical facts and ideas (we could easily make it larger still) in which the so-called Spanish conspiracy should be placed to be seen in its true aspect and real proportions. The picture should be disengaged from the trivialities of personal debate and partisan contention. Statements like those we have cited from the writings of Madison alone would suffice to show the reality and the extent of the negotiations set on foot by Spanish sympathizers in Kentucky for the separation of the trans-Alleghany region from the Atlantic States. Men like Wilkinson and Sebastian, who were afterwards proved to have been for years in the pay of the Spanish Government, may have been inspired primarily by sordid motives of private gain, but none the less were they eager to cloak their personal designs under pretexts of the public welfare. Clark tells us in his 'Proofs' of Wilkinson's corruption that even that "acquitted felon," as John Randolph used to call him, was wont to palliate, and even to justify, his Spanish connections, on the ground that the situation of Kentucky, before the Constitution of 1787, was peculiar; that the Western country was laboring under exceptional disadvantages at the time when he made his bargain with Miró, and that the state of the whole Union was "doubtful and distressed," so long as the Union "was bound together by nothing better than a rope of sand."

That John Brown, while a member of the Continental Congress, was acquainted by Gardoqui with the projects of Spain for the separation of Kentucky from the Union, and that Brown communicated these projects to political friends in the Kentucky country, is not denied. It is only denied that he sympathized with the Spanish conspiracy and that he gave to it aid and comfort. It is very certain that he did not expose the conspiracy with a view to its popular condemnation, and that the plans of Gardoqui encountered from him no open opposition. His reasons for this cautious reserve were explained at the time to Madison, and these reasons seem to have commanded the approval of that prudent statesman, whose loyalty to the Union nobody can doubt. The same reasons which deterred him from even bruiting the designs of Spain serve equally well to explain why it was that he made no open opposition to them. He preferred to bide his time and to watch the drift of events in a day of political and social dissolution. In this attitude of expectation he forbore to precipitate the crisis, because he had hope as well as faith in the prospects of the new Government. So far as he gave advice at all, he seems to have thought that a masterly inactivity was better than either open resistance to the overtures of Gardoqui or open confederation with Spain.

This cautious policy may have seemed to him at that time as much the part of public duty as it was the dictate of personal prudence. But it was inevitable that the mental reservations of such a policy should carry with them all the perils that environ statecraft, whether such statecraft be prompted by patriotism or by personal ambition. That the mental reservations of Brown were inspired by patriotism seemed clear to Madison. That they were prompted by a truckling spirit of subserviency to Spain, and were fed by personal and political ambitions, was openly charged, and we doubt not honestly believed, by Humphrey Marshall.

How easy it is to do more than justice to the enigmatical attitude of Brown in this difficult crisis we may read in every page of the 'Political Beginnings' as written by his grandson. How easy it is to do less than justice to this enigmatical position we may read in every page of the volume before us. So easy does Mr. Green find it to do less than justice to

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John Brown that the author will not concede to him even the poor credit of having communicated to Madison the nature of Gardoqui's overtures. It is urged that this alleged communication was an "afterthought," invented as a screen for conscious guilt. Yet we have the express testimony of Madison to the truth of the statement. Writing in 1834, he held the following language, and we cite his words at length because they contain the best defence that can be made for what at best, without such an explanation, must seem to have been an equivocal position:

"My recollection, with which references in my manuscript papers accord, leaves no doubt that the overture [of Gardoqui] was communicated to me by Mr. Brown. Nor can I doubt that, as stated by him, I expressed the opinion and apprehension that a knowledge of it in Kentucky might, in the excitements there, be mischievously employed. This view of the subject evidently resulted from the natural and known impatience of the Western people on the waters of the Mississippi for a market for the products of their exuberant soil; from the distrust of the Federal policy produced by the project of surrendering the use of that river for a term of many years; and from a coincidence of the overture, in point of time with the plan on foot for consolidating the Union by arming it with new powers—an object to embarrass and defeat which the dismembering aims of Spain would not fail to make the most tempting sacrifices and to spare no intrigues. I owe it to Mr. Brown, with whom I was in intimate friendship when we were associated in public life, to observe that I always regarded him, whilst steadily attentive to the interests of his constituents, as duly impressed with the importance of the Union and anxious for its prosperity." ('Madison's Writings,' vol. iv, p. 365.)

The West Indies. A Historical Geography of the British Colonies. Vol. II. By C. P. Lucas, B. A., of Balliol College, Oxford, and the Colonial Office, London. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan.

ALTHOUGH Great Britain was not invited to the Pan-American Congress, statistics demonstrate that the trade of the British dependencies in America is, after that of the United States, the first in importance among nations in the Western Hemisphere. This is not to be wondered at, seeing that, besides her vast possessions in North America, her world-wide empire embraces British Honduras in Central America, and British Guiana in South America, and numerous islands in the West Indies. It is with regard to British Guiana and the British West Indian islands that Mr. Lucas, the private secretary to Sir Robert Herbert, permanent Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office, has issued a volume of his series treating of the history and the geography of the British colonies throughout the world. In view of the fact that the colonies in question had no representation at the Pan-American Congress, it cannot but be interesting to Americans to learn from Mr. Lucas's statements respecting their commerce, that their trade, and especially their export trade, tends steadily towards the United States. This is, of course, a result of the free-trade policy of England, which enables the colonists to take advantage of the best market for the sale of their products. It must be left to our statesmen to decide whether there might not be a further development of trade relations with these tropical colonies, which, together, import goods to the value of between £8,000,000 and £9,000,000 sterling, while the exports are of equal value.

The care which Mr. Lucas has bestowed upon the volume before us has resulted in the production of a book of handy size and of very varied information respecting the interesting places treated of. Herein may be found facts of history, commerce, taxation, laws, religion, education, and other subjects of West Indian being and doing, and very pleasantly and instructively are they treated of by the author. The admirable spirit in which the colonies of Great Britain are administered in the latter part of the nineteenth century pervades the volume. One might almost imagine Mr. Lucas to be a colonist rather than a member of the Colonial Office staff, in such striking contrast is his sympathetic style of writing to that speech of the ancient régime which did not hesitate to express its contemptuousness in the admonition, "Damn your souls! grow tobacco."

Wherever it may be thought fit to give correct and ample instruction in the resources and history of the British possessions, there should the series being issued by Mr. Lucas be made a standard class-book. The statesman also will find it the authority to consult. Americans who may be fleeing from the rigid winter of the North to the perpetual summer of the West Indian Islands, will find volume ii. a very entertaining companion during their sojourn.

With the Admiral of the Ocean Sea: A Narrative of the First Voyage to the Western World. By Charles P. Mac Kie. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 1891.

WITH the approach of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America we may expect a general revival of Columbian literature. This book is probably the pioneer of a number of volumes bearing more or less directly upon the finding of the New World. Very appropriately it bears the imprint of a firm in Chicago, to which city has been assigned by the Government of the United States the duty of arranging the formal celebration of this anniversary by the greatest nation of that world which Columbus found.

The author presents to us in this volume a very readable and connected account of the first voyage of Columbus, founded upon and drawn mainly from the diary of Columbus as abridged and compiled by Las Casas. The title of the book may seem rather fanciful to the casual observer, but it is the title and rank officially given by Ferdinand and Isabella to Columbus before his first voyage, and confirmed by them upon his return. His commission read as "Our admiral of the ocean sea and Viceroy and Governor in the said islands and mainlands which you shall discover and acquire." The "ocean sea" was the term used in those days when referring to the Atlantic Ocean, as distinguished from the Mediterranean Sea.

Mr. Mac Kie has taken, as we have said, the compilation made by Las Casas of the original journal of Columbus, which Las Casas used in writing his 'History of the Indies,' as the main source of his information. In addition to this, however, he has enriched and amplified his narrative by information drawn from the official documents of Spain relating to the discovery, the testimony in the lawsuit brought against the Spanish Crown, after the death of Columbus, by his son Diego, and the publications of Muñoz, Navarrete, and others under the auspices of the Spanish Government. Based upon this research, the author has constructed very successfully a lively and picturesque, as well as accurate, narrative of the great voyage of discovery. He desired to make a popular, readable book rather than a new history, and, in his endeavors to draw a living picture of the events, is quite willing to lose somewhat the dignity of the graver methods followed by others whose works are destined to greater fame. Printed in the appendix are brief notes upon several of the disputed points concerning the birthplace and early life of Columbus, and the events preceding and accompanying the voyage; these show research, and desire to ascertain the actual facts, in each case.

The book begins with the arrival of Columbus and his son at the Convent of La Rábida near Palos in Andalusia, the narrative opening in a lively style, somewhat suggestive of Kingsley's 'Westward Ho.' This description of the visit to La Rábida brings us at once to the disputed question as to whether it was the first or second visit to the convent. The proximity of the convent to the borders of Portugal, as well as the statement of Las Casas, has led most writers to state that Columbus first found refuge in this Convent directly after his flight from Lisbon. We think, however, that the author, relying upon the testimony of García Fernandez as well as the letter of the Duke of Medina Celi to the Grand Cardinal of Spain, is correct in stating that the visit referred to was the first visit that Columbus made to the convent. The testimony of Fernandez and Juan Rodriguez, surnamed Cabezudo, in the lawsuit of Diego Columbus against the Crown, also seems to settle the question of the time that aid was extended by the Pinzons to Columbus, namely, after the return of Columbus from his successful visit to the Spanish Court and after the expedition was duly authorized. That due credit has not been given to the Pinzon for this aid was owing to the insubordination, desertion, and selfishness of Martín Alonzo Pinzon, which eclipsed his own efforts as well as to some extent that of his nobler brother.

The first seven chapters of the book treat of the events preceding the sailing of Columbus, the narrative of the voyage beginning with the eighth chapter, when the three vessels left the Rio Tinto, with the ebb tide and land breeze, upon their voyage to vast unknown spaces of ocean. It is well sustained, and, though the tale has been often told, it never loses its interest. The frail craft employed, the crude and imperfect appliances for navigation, and the great mystery surrounding the watery world west of the Canaries, added to the ignorance and superstition of the seamen, will always make this adventurous and eventful voyage a matter of wonder. Those who shall view at the Exposition at Chicago the facsimile of the caravel that crossed and recrossed the Atlantic at its widest part, will more than ever marvel at the successful termination of such a voyage.

The author, both in the main part of the book and in the appendix, expresses his belief that Columbus was fairly entitled to the reward offered by the Spanish sovereigns for the first sighting of the land. We cannot, however, but agree with Irving in expressing our regret that the great discoverer did not allow the reward to go to the humble sailor by whom the land was first seen. From the journal of Columbus as edited by Las Casas we quote the following:

"The Admiral again perceived it [the light] once or twice, appearing like the light of a wax candle moving up and down, which some thought an indication of land. But the Admiral held it for certain that land was near; for which reason after they had said the *Salve* which the seamen are accustomed to repeat and chant after their fashion, the Admiral directed them to keep a strict watch upon the forecastle and look out diligently for land, and to him who should first discover it he promised a silken jacket, besides the reward the King and Queen had offered, which was an annuity

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of ten thousand maravedis. At two o'clock in the morning the land was discovered at two leagues' distance."

The lines immediately preceding this quotation state that the land was first seen by a sailor called Rodrigo de Triana.

Concerning the much-discussed question of the identity of the present San Salvador or Cat Island with Guanahani, the author has good grounds for believing that this identity has been well established, and, notwithstanding the many papers upon this subject in later times, we can find no discussion of it more satisfactory and convincing than that written many years ago by Commander Mackenzie of the United States Navy, and appended to Irving's 'Columbus,' treating both of the identity of Cat Island and the course of Columbus after leaving Guanahani.

The book in its binding, paper, and typography is creditable to its publishers.

Browning as a Philosophical and Religious Teacher. By Henry Jones, M.A. Macmillan & Co. 1891.

It is seldom that a poet's system of thought is submitted to so rigorous a philosophical criticism as is, in this highly interesting volume, applied to the intellectual contents of Browning's works. Prof. Jones, in apologizing for treating professed poetry as if it were a treatise on metaphysics, observes justly that Browning forsook art for dialectics in the larger part of his later writings; these poems have either a speculative interest and value, or none at all, and hence they are to be criticised from a philosophical point of view. The statement of the case by Prof. Jones can hardly be bettered:

"Kant's 'Metaphysic of Ethics' is not more metaphysical in intention than the poet's later utterances on the problems of morality. In 'La Saisiaz,' in 'Ferishtah's Fancies,' in the 'Parleyings,' and, though less explicitly, in 'Asolando,' 'Fifine at the Fair,' and 'Red Cotton Nightcap Country,' Browning definitely states, and endeavors to demonstrate, a theory of knowledge, a theory of the relation of knowledge to morality, and a theory of the nature of evil; and he discusses the arguments for the immortality of the soul. In these poems his artistic instinct avails him, not, as in his earlier ones, for the discovery of truth by way of intuition, but for the adornment of doctrines already derived from a metaphysical repository. His art is no longer free, no longer its own end, but coerced into an alien service. It has become illustrative and argumentative, and, in being made to subserve speculative purposes, it has ceased to be creative. Browning has appealed to philosophy, and philosophy must try his cause."

The sifting of Browning's doctrines by a philosophical scholar has long been a desideratum, for the estimate of these later works did not belong to poetic criticism. They were acknowledged without difficulty to have no primary interest as poetry; it remained to ask, Were these works, then, philosophy? Prof. Jones set himself to answer the question very fully, and the volume he publishes is so much concerned with philosophy in its general principles that Browning becomes in it only an incident and illustration; or, at least, the treatise may be so regarded, and one who cares nothing at all for Browning, but much for the ethical and metaphysical questions of the time, may read the book with a lively interest.

Browning, however, is the ground of interest stated in the title, and consequently we shall confine our attention to the criticism upon the poet. The summary given of his essential doctrines is very just and clear. The three main assumptions of his theory are thus stated: "(1) That knowledge of the true nature of things is impossible to man, and that, therefore, it is necessary to find other and better evidence than the intellect can give for the victory of good over evil; (2) that the failure of knowledge is a necessary condition of the moral life, inasmuch as certain knowledge would render all moral effort either futile or needless; (3) that after the failure of knowledge there still remains possible a faith of the heart, which can furnish a sufficient objective basis to morality and religion." A few pages further on, Prof. Jones again sums up Browning's view of knowledge more concretely: "We are ignorant of the world; we do not know even whether it is good, or evil, or only their semblance, that is presented to us in human life; and we know nothing of God except that He is the cause of love in man"; and the critic then asks, "What greater depth of agnosticism is possible?" He goes on to give his conclusion: "When the doctrine is put in this bald form, the moral and religious consciousness of man, in behalf of which the theory was invented, revolts against it."

In these brief extracts the whole matter is succinctly put, but even further explication may be useful. Browning adopts the view that all man's knowledge consists only of his inner states of consciousness, an idealistic view destitute even of that universal element which exists when knowledge is regarded as true for man, instead of only for men severally. This means the "failure of knowledge," the negation of the power of the intellect to reach truth, the suicide of the mind. The poet turns, therefore, to the emotions as the means of faith, and, in consonance with much vague conviction of his time in religious matters, appeals to "the heart" in default of "the head." The critic's examination of what is meant by such an appeal is admirable; he has little difficulty in showing that, taken literally, it is unmeaning; and that such meaning as it has, real and vital in human life, is contrary to the poet's apprehension. So far from reposing in an assumption of the "failure of knowledge," this appeal from the "head" to the "heart" is from less perfect to more perfect knowledge on which the depth of the emotion depends.

In respect to the curious doctrine of Browning in regard to evil, Prof. Jones finds his easiest task; the destruction of each clause as expressing any philosophical truth is complete. In the course of the examination of the entire theory which the critic aims to annihilate, the positive element is in the main an interesting application of the idea of evolution to metaphysical conceptions, one point of which may be incidentally mentioned: he holds that, as in morals the ideal exceeds the actual, yet becomes actual at each moment of man's progress in morality, so the reality (perfect knowledge) is similarly related to the phenomenon (man's knowledge), and becomes more known at each moment of man's progress in knowledge. In other words, as it is the ideal which is incompletely held in the actual, in morality, so it is the real which is incompletely held in the phenomenon, in knowledge; one parallels the other, and in each the contradiction of the terms is solved by the process of man's transformation. The error of Browning lies in affirming the opposites as irreconcilable, in the theory of knowledge, and secondly in having recourse to a false theory of evil in order to save conduct, and a false theory of faith in order to save religion.

"I conclude," says Prof. Jones, "it was a profound error, which contained in it the destruction of morality and religion, as well as of knowledge, to make 'the quality of God' a love that excludes reason, and the quality of man an intellect incapable of knowing truth. . . . The idea that truth is unattainable was represented by Browning as a bulwark of the faith, but it proved on examination to be treacherous. His optimism was found to have no better foundation than personal conviction, which any one was free to deny, and which the poet could in no wise prove. The evidence of the heart to which he appealed was the evidence of an emotion severed from intelligence and therefore without any content whatsoever. 'The faith' which he professed was not the faith that anticipates and invites proof, but a faith which is incapable of proof. In casting doubt upon the validity of knowledge, he degraded the whole spiritual nature of man; for a love that is ignorant of its object is a blind impulse, and a moral consciousness that does not know the law is an impossible phantom—a self-contradiction."

This conclusion is sufficiently definite and severe. What has been shown is that Browning's philosophy is agnosticism, and endeavors to escape from moral and religious paralysis by an ingenious but easily confuted error in respect to the character of evil and a mystical self-deception in respect to God. The amateurishness of his metaphysics and the imperfect logic of his thinking, even within the limits of his erroneous assumptions, are both brought out. In these later poems, so far as their contents are concerned, the answer seems to be that they are no more philosophy than, so far as their form is concerned, they are poetry. The critic has the kindness to point out, on the other hand, that before Browning's later speculations developed his early ideas in the region of dialectic, he represented the truth of experience in quite another way. The errors of his reflecting period do not have place in the earlier creative period, when, as a poet, he followed the larger method of artistic intuition. The height of his development is here set at "The Ring and the Book," in which the balance of his mental habit still inclined towards art rather than philosophy, and the representation of life was by the mirror of poetry. After that time his works taken in the mass exhibit a deterioration, as much in intellectual as in poetic phases. This is true whether agnosticism be admitted or rejected. The validity of agnosticism, so far as Browning is concerned, is not in issue; the inconsequence of his conclusions as drawn from his premises is enough to prove that he was not a thinker, in the special sense of that term; agnosticism leads elsewhere than to his goals. Nevertheless, the value of this treatise as a criticism of agnostic premises is to be pointed out, and also its interest as a criticism of widespread religious and theological moods proceeding from Kantian influences. The volume is, it is true, somewhat difficult reading, but the practical interest it derives from its dealings with poetry in a concrete instance, and with the idea of evolution and the tendency of religious thought, removes it from the special class of metaphysical works, and gives to it much suggestiveness.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Adams, Francis. The Genuine Works of Hippocrates. 2 vols. in one. William Wood & Co. $5.
Auvray, Richard. Les Gens d'Epinal, 1423–1444. Paris: Armand Colin & Cie.
Black, William. Donald Ross of Heimra. Harper & Bros. 50 cents.
Boutmy, Emile. Studies in Constitutional Law. Translated by E. M. Dicey. Macmillan & Co. $1.75.
Braddon, Mrs. M. E. The World, the Flesh and the Devil. John W. Lovell Co. 50 cents.
Burnham, S. M. The Struggles of the Nations. 2 vols. Boston: Lee & Shepard. $6.
Carhart, Prof. H. S. Primary Batteries. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. $1.50.
Drayton, Dr. H. S. Vacation Time, with Hints on Summer Living. Fowler & Wells Co. 25 cents.
Emtage, W. T. A. An Introduction to the Mathematical Theory of Electricity and Magnetism. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan.

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